

CRITICAL REFLECTION IN SERVICE-LEARNING: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'GOOD CITIZEN'

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
School of Applied Human Sciences, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal**

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June 2017

Declaration

I, Carol Mitchell, declare that

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to the students who agreed to participate in the study, and to the students who came before and after them, who allowed me to learn from them.

Thanks are due to Kevin Durrheim for his encouragement, critical scholarship, and capacity to manage multiple subject positions.

Further thanks go to my colleagues, immediate and distant, for their companionship and guidance through this process. Thanks to the various pioneers who helped me along the path.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their belief in me.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed, and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

Abstract

Service-learning, and its iterations, has gained popularity across many countries in the last few decades. It offers students the opportunity to have real world, often transformative, learning experiences as part of their academic curriculum. It also has the potential to benefit the communities with whom students engage. Michel Foucault's notion of power as an omnipresent, productive force is useful for asking how our everyday service-learning practices might be otherwise, and how our taken for granted assumptions are worthy of scrutiny. This study used Foucault's conceptual tools to examine service-learning as an apparatus for governmentality. His notion of pastoral power was used to problematize the critical reflection process in a service-learning course, by focusing on the micro-level interactions in the process. A poststructuralist approach was employed in this case-study design. A form of Foucauldian discourse analysis was used to examine the data at three different levels. The results revealed that complicated and contradictory subjects were constructed in the process, not necessarily conforming to the field's claims of developing good citizens. The results also explored how a pastoral and an expert discourse were deployed in the construction of these subjects, and how these different discourses were used to both constitute and manage the contradictory subject positions. Lastly, the results described the strategies and tactics that were used in the interactions in the critical reflection sessions to construct those subjects and positions. The findings highlighted the need to be aware of our service-learning practices, and the ways these can (inadvertently) become forms of governmentality, towards the production of certain kinds of desired subjects.

Key words

Service-learning, Foucault, pastoral power, critical reflection.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

CHESP	Community Higher Education Service Partnership
FDA	Foucauldian discourse analysis
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HPE	Health and physical education
NGO	Non-governmental organisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Contextualising the study

A few years ago, I was invited to attend student service-learning presentations at a sister campus of our university. As the students were presenting, it struck me how much they sounded like my colleague who had been the course instructor. They used her frameworks of understanding, they highlighted the issues that were most pertinent to her, they used her most familiar terms, and some even spoke with her passion for the issues confronted in the course. At that moment, I became aware of how, as service-learning practitioners, and educators in general, we direct our students' learning towards our priorities and in terms of our frame of reference. Having already been practicing service-learning for a number of years, I wondered how many 'mini-me's' I had produced over the years, and the dangers of this kind of production. After all, my intentions were noble and good, and who could dispute that we needed socially aware and active students to help challenge the inequitable system? But what if this powerful tool of service-learning ended up in the wrong hands? What nefarious goals might students be indoctrinated towards?

Harkavy and Benson (1998) argued that the revolutionary mantra for service-learning should be 'overthrowing Plato and instituting Dewey'. They argued for the democratisation of education, as opposed to the elitist Platonic approach. They rejected Plato's dualistic notion of separating 'pure' theory and applied practice, and instead recommended Dewey's instrumental learning through inquiry. This argument is appealing; after all as educators, we want our students to learn through active engagement with "genuine dilemmas and perplexities" (Harkavy & Benson, 1998, p. 16). But, in considering the questions my experience generated above, I wondered how far the service-learning field had come in terms of overthrowing Plato. He stated the purpose of education as "the process of drawing and guiding children towards that principle which is pronounced right by the law and confirmed as truly right by the experience of the oldest and the most just" (Plato, . & Pangle, 1980; *The Laws*, book 2, para. 659). Were we, in continuing not to examine our own assumptions and philosophies, deciding what should be pronounced and confirmed as truly

right, and guiding our students towards those principles? I became concerned that service-learning may be the 'emperor's new clothes', and was reminded of a cynical friend of mine who always enquired after my work by asking how the social engineering project was going.

Within the service-learning literature, there are few critical voices. The literature review which follows details some of these perspectives. Dan Butin's (2006) observations seemed to mirror my own. He noted that "service-learning embodies a liberal agenda under the guise of universalistic garb" (p. 485), and promoted more reflection on our ideological agendas. Given the lack of detailed critical perspectives on service-learning, I went in search of a conceptual framework to supply a lens through which I could examine service-learning processes and practices. Foucault's notion of pastoral power supplied such a tool.

1.2 Conceptualising the study

Michel Foucault's notions of power as a productive force and as an act, not a possession, were helpful in trying to understand what might be occurring in service-learning. When I explained to a former student that I was using a Foucauldian perspective, he exclaimed "but we felt so agentic in service-learning". Understanding power as a transaction helps to explain this sense of agency, whilst at the same time being governed in some way. My discomfort with Foucault's seemingly pessimistic inclines was relieved somewhat when I read his statement: "My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do" (Foucault, 1983, pp. 231-232). I felt that I could proceed with a Foucauldian analysis, without pronouncing judgement on service-learning, but by trying to open up the ways in which it could be dangerous. Butin (2010, p. 18) also warned "service learning is not safe. It is anything but safe."

Foucault's perspectives on power and his other tools are explored in depth in Chapter three. Most relevant to this study was his notion of pastoral power, where he described a beneficent power involving obedience and sacrifice between a shepherd and her sheep. Central to this relationship was the practice of confession, which resonated with my

experiences of the critical reflection process, where students would come and report their experiences, and seek guidance. This study explored this process in detail.

1.3 'Rationalising' the study

There are many claims in the service-learning field regarding its neutrality (see Butin, 2006), its learner centeredness (Ash & Clayton, 2004), that it is discovery based (see Subotzky, 1999) and its counter-normative nature. That, by exposing students to real world issues, we encourage student-led learning, where they discover relevant knowledge for themselves. There are also numerous claims regarding its role in the development of actively engaged citizens (see the literature review for more on this). Within the service-learning field, there is also a strong argument for the role of critical reflection in achieving the desired learning and citizenship outcomes for students.

Given these claims, the concerns I have highlighted above, and the relatively little research on how change occurs in the service-learning experience, I endeavoured to explore this area by asking the following questions:

1. What are the strategies and tactics of participating in the critical reflection process in service-learning?
2. How does the critical reflection process in service-learning lead to the construction of the 'good citizen'?

These questions and their iterations are discussed further in the methodology chapter of the thesis. Given the Foucauldian framework, a post-structuralist approach was necessary to try and produce some answers.

1.4 Operationalising the study

A post-structuralist approach required qualitative data to allow for the nuances and complexities that emerge in the absence of absolutes, which fall more into the positivistic camp. The data took the form of eight, 90-minute group critical reflection sessions that occurred between myself and the five (female) service-learning participants. The service-learning course was offered at the honours post-graduate level within the discipline of

psychology. Honours students have completed their undergraduate degrees and are pursuing post-graduate studies which commence with an honours degree (fourth year) focussed only on psychology. For this psychology honours service-learning course, the students were required to negotiate their activities at local schools. These activities included attempting to develop a functional library at one school, and offering learner and educator workshops at the other. The students were expected to do prescribed readings for the course and attend critical reflections with me (co-ordinator and facilitator) on campus. The methodology chapter provides an account of the context of the study and my multiple roles and positions in the process.

The data was analysed using a Foucauldian discourse analytic approach. The variation that I employed resulted in three results chapters which firstly describe the kinds of subjects produced in the service-learning course, explain how certain discourses were deployed in the construction of these subjects, and lastly, describe the strategies and tactics that were used in the interactions in the critical reflection sessions to construct those subjects and positions.

The 'genealogy' of the study is important to note, as, knowing that I was interested in what was produced in the interactions which took place in the critical reflection discussions in service-learning, and knowing I was curious about power in this process, I collected my data prior to developing a conceptual framework. Subsequently, when I began analysing the data, I had the notion of pastoral power as the lens through which I was viewing the interactions. I only completed the in-depth review of the literature after I had conducted my first levels of analysis. In reading other people's work in this area, I found the more complex accounts of students' experiences very interesting and noted some similarities with our experiences. My reading in the field further reinforced my belief that a Foucauldian lens would be a useful conceptual addition to the service-learning field. In Chapter four, I have tried to describe how the service-learning field can be understood as a regime of truth, and an apparatus. I hope this is useful.

1.5 Terminology

There are a few terms that it would be useful to clarify at the outset. Firstly, in using a pronoun to describe the lecturer and the students I have opted to use she or her as all the participants were female. No slight is intended in the use of the female pronoun.

In referring to the person who conducts the teaching, I have used various terms as these vary in the literature, depending on the genre of the educational context. I have thus used faculty, academic, lecturer, teacher, educator, and facilitator to denote the person leading the educational process. In the main, I have referred to the psychology students as students, while others may refer to them as learners. In this study, the learners were the pupils at the schools which were the community sites for the students' service-learning.

The literature review highlights the problematic use of the term community. In this study I have tried to use 'communities' wherever possible, to indicate that communities are diverse and heterogeneous and can be constituted in various ways. Likewise 'truth' is problematic in a post-structuralist paradigm, and I have thus used it in the sense that it only indicates a partial and subjective account of any one truth at any one time.

1.6 Overview of chapters

As already indicated above, a literature review follows which provides more insight into service-learning, its theoretical origins, and how it came to be in South Africa. This chapter also reviews the evidence in terms of the outcomes for students, with a particular focus on citizenship outcomes. The focus then shifts to the importance of critical reflection in service-learning and problematises this practice.

Chapter three introduces Foucault and his toolbox of theories, with a focus on pastoral power and the confessional. This chapter then goes on to review how pastoral power has been appropriated in educational settings, in higher education in particular. It then goes on to further problematise critical reflection, drawing on work from other educational settings.

Chapter four applies Foucault's conceptual tools to service-learning, troubling it as a regime of truth and as an apparatus.

Chapter five details the paradigm and methods used in executing the study. It includes a section on my reflexivity, it describes the context of the study and defends the case study method used. It describes the approach taken in using a Foucauldian discourse analysis, and then speaks to issues of trustworthiness.

The first results chapter (six) describes the kinds of subjects that were constructed in the service-learning course. The second (seven) explores how a pastoral and an expert discourse were deployed to construct those subjects. The third (eight) reports on the strategies and tactics that were evident in the interactions in the critical reflection sessions.

The final chapter (nine) relates these findings to the other literature in the service-learning field, and to other studies which also troubled critical reflection in educational contexts. It then explores the implications of the findings for the field of service-learning, and for future research, whilst reporting the limitations of the current study.

1.7 Conclusion

Throughout the study, I have had to hold on to the notion that I was not looking to pronounce our service-learning practices as bad, but rather trying to establish how they could be dangerous. I hope that this study has achieved that aim, asking how our everyday practices could be otherwise, and what effects this may have. I hope that it is a useful contribution to the field.

Chapter 2

Literature review – Service-learning

2.1 Introduction

Service-learning is mainly understood to have originated in the US in the 1980's and has gained popularity there over the last three decades. Bringle, Clayton and Hatcher (2013) claimed that there is a growing interest in the pedagogy internationally. The pedagogy/practice is known by other names in different contexts – community-based learning, academic service-learning, community service-learning, academic community-based learning. In South Africa, largely influenced by the American approach, and sponsored initially by American donors, the pedagogy carries the American terminology of service-learning.

For the purposes of this study, the most useful definition is that of Bringle and Clayton (2012, adapted from Bringle and Hatcher, 1996). Service-learning is:

a course or competency-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in mutually identified service activities that benefit the community, and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility. (Bringle & Clayton, 2012, p. 105)

This definition is preferred because it locates service-learning as part of the academic curriculum, it emphasises the reciprocal natures of the partnership with the community, and the mutual benefit in terms of student learning and community gain. Jeff Howard wrote “service-learning is not for the meek” (1998, p. 28) as it moves beyond traditional classroom-based teaching and learning practices. This counter-normative nature of service-learning has become part of its identity, and practitioners are often regarded as pioneers for promoting shared responsibility, active learning opportunities for students, more egalitarian approaches to learning and coping with the unpredictability of working in the real world (Clayton & Ash, 2004; Felten & Clayton, 2011).

The following sections outline the theoretical origins of service-learning and its theoretical neighbours. It then goes on to review the literature on the benefits of service-learning, in terms of student outcomes, with a special focus on the citizenship claims made by advocates of service-learning. Finally, the chapter explains the centrality of critical reflection in service-learning and attempts to problematise the process.

2.2 Theoretical origins of service-learning

The theoretical origins of service-learning have been the subject of much debate and concern. Early research on service-learning focused on descriptions and measurements of practice and outcomes (for students). The concern in the field was that, without a theoretical home, service-learning lacked legitimacy in the academy. Thus, Le Grange (2007) argued, its protagonists went in search of a “theoretical alibi” (p. 4).

In motivating for the importance of a theoretical home for service-learning, Giles and Eyler (1994) commented: “service-learning, at least until very recently, has been quite marginal to the academic enterprise, and thus educational theorists outside of service-learning have ignored it as a potential area of conceptual as well as empirical inquiry” (p. 77). In this early article, these authors then proceeded to argue for Dewey’s writings as a good fit for service-learning.

2.2.1 Dewey in service-learning

The belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative. Experience and education cannot be directly equated to each other. For some, experiences are mis-educative. Any experience is mis-educative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience. An experience may be such as to engender callousness; it may produce lack of sensitivity and responsiveness. Then the possibilities of having richer experience in the future are restricted. (Dewey, 1938, p. 25)

Dewey proposed two principles for an experience to be educative: the principle of continuity and the principle of interaction. In terms of *continuity*, Dewey proposed a developmental experiential continuum where different educational experiences could be located, and that it was the role of the teacher to direct the experiences on this continuum.

In terms of *interaction*, Dewey referred to the situation and the transaction between the individual (with his/her characteristics) and the environment (characteristics of context) in that situation. Dewey argued that for knowledge to be remembered and applied, it needed to be learnt in a situation or context. If it was acquired separately from experience, it would likely be forgotten. Also key for Dewey was reflective thinking which “impels to inquiry” (1933, p. 9). At a practical level, Dewey (1933, pp. 217-218) provided four criteria for a project/experience to be educative, saying it must:

1. generate interest,
2. be worthwhile intrinsically,
3. present problems that awaken new curiosity and create a demand for information,
4. cover a considerable time span and be capable of fostering development over time.

Dewey emphasised a democratic approach to education where students could shape their own learning and reflect on its value. He believed that learning would be advanced in the context of real world problem solving and enquiry. Real world problems have the potential to generate doubt, its resolution and the generation of new doubt, thus engaging students in a continual cycle of questioning and learning (Harkavy & Benson, 1997).

Van der Ploeg (2016) explored the application of Dewey in citizenship education and emphasised that Dewey did not intend for this kind of learning to be separate from academic learning. He stated that moral and social learning need to be integrated into academic learning, or learning subject matter. He claimed that service-learning is only an aspect of citizenship education and that it needed to be “adequately embedded in a curriculum giving adequate attention to content knowledge, critical thinking, research and judgment” (p. 156).

2.2.2 Kolb in service-learning

Service-learning has also identified with experiential education. As a neo-Deweyian, Kolb’s experiential learning cycle has been accepted as useful in service-learning. Kolb (1984) proposed a learning cycle of concrete experience, reflection, theorisation and

experimentation which mirrors, at some level, the service-learning learning process. This is presented in Figure 2.1 below.

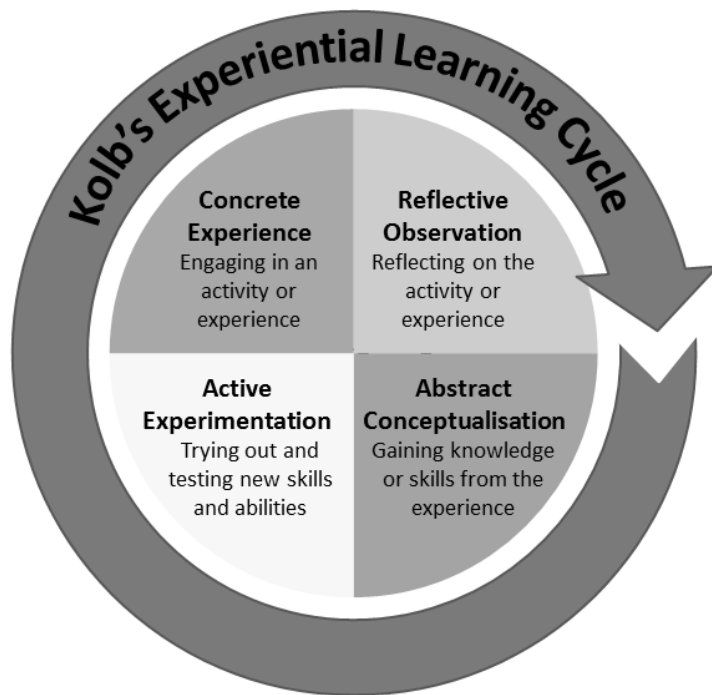


Figure 2.1: Kolb's learning cycle.

Adapted from Kolb (1984)

An even more attractive iteration of this cycle includes a meta-reflective cycle, where the learner examines preconceived assumptions, beliefs and values. The inclusion of a meta-cycle appeals to service-learning practitioners who are interested in challenging and possibly transforming students' perspectives. See Figure 2.2 below.

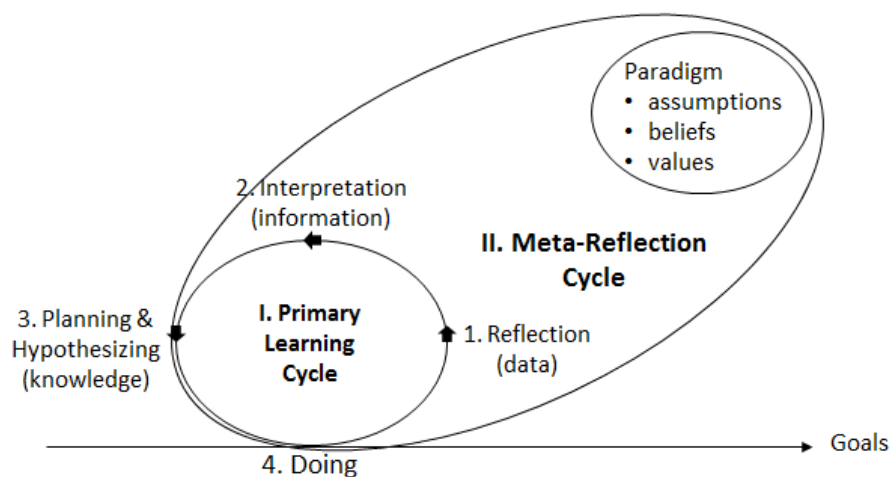


Figure 2.2: The learning cycle.

(Adapted from Swenson (n.d.))

Swenson (n.d.) has not published this cycle within a cycle (D. Swenson, personal communication, September 13, 2016), but we could speculate that Swenson's (n.d.) diagram has taken Kolb's learning cycle and added the dimension of meta-reflection, which includes a paradigmatic perspective. This inclusion enhances Kolb's original model by drawing attention to the fact that the learning cycle takes place in the context of assumptions about the world, and that these beliefs drive reflection towards particular goals.

Whilst generally accepted in service-learning, Kolb's model has been critiqued for not accounting adequately for the social and contextual aspects of learning. Kiely (2005) argued:

Moreover, the positionality and identity of the educator and the role that emotions, affect, context, ideology, and power play in enhancing and/or inhibiting transformational learning processes have received insufficient attention in Kolb's model and in the service-learning literature in general.
(p. 6)

2.2.3 Freire in service-learning

In theorising about service-learning, Paulo Freire's name is often recruited by service-learning educators. Freire (1970) argued for a critical understanding of power in and through educational practices. Freire emphasised critical consciousness-raising, where people "develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation" (Freire, 2000, p. 83). Thus, Freire aimed for the political transformation of individuals and society through education. In addition, Freire also emphasised the reciprocal nature of the educational process between the teacher and the students, where the teacher is also taught in dialogue with the students. He emphasised the participatory nature of pedagogy, explaining that in the teaching process, the teacher and student dichotomy ceases to exist, and the participants rather become "teacher-student with student-teachers" (Freire, 1970, p. 80). In addition, Freire stressed the link between knowledge and action (praxis) in this process which promotes collaborative learning, that is, it is through the dialogical learning process that praxis (the absolutely concurrent action-reflection-action process) is co-constructed (Jacoby, 2013). Thus, Freirean thought is a good fit for some service-learning practitioners.

2.2.4 Mezirow in service-learning

Mezirow's (2000) model of transformational learning has also been appropriated in service-learning. Mezirow (2000) proposed a non-sequential learning process involving:

1. a disorienting dilemma,
2. self-examination with feelings of fear, anger, guilt or shame,
3. a critical assessment of assumptions,
4. recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared,
5. exploration of options for new roles, relationships and actions,
6. planning a course of action,
7. acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans,
8. provisionally trying new roles,
9. building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships,
10. a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective. (p. 22)

The important disorienting dilemma usually results in disequilibrium or dissonance that motivates the person to learn more. This dilemma causes the person to re-evaluate their assumptions and beliefs, resulting in new understandings which change practices.

Researchers have found that participation in service-learning can sometimes have this transformational impact on students (Deedly, 2010; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Feinstein, 2005; Kiely, 2004; 2005; Ogden, 2010; Rhoads, 1997). Eyler and Giles (1999) did, however, warn that this kind of transformation of perspectives in students was not common, as many students resist the process of critically assessing their assumptions and worldviews.

Kiely (2005) extended Mezirow's model to develop a transformative service-learning model. He proposed that his international service-learning programme resulted in five categories of learning processes:

- *Contextual border crossing* – involves examining the intersection of the student's personal factors with structural factors, historical factors and programmatic factors, which all interact to frame the service-learning experience for the student.
- *Dissonance* – (similar to the disorienting dilemma) the incongruence between the student's existing frame of reference and his/her experiences. Kiely (2005) describes *low dissonance* and *high dissonance* situations. He believes that low dissonance situations are the triggers for learning, whereas high dissonance situations catalyse ongoing

learning. He states that dissonance can vary in type (low/high), intensity, and duration, with differing effects on the participants.

- *Personalising* – relates to the participant’s visceral and emotional responses to the dissonance. This causes students to develop an awareness of their own strengths and weaknesses in these situations.
- *Processing* – takes place through individual reflection and through dialogue and discursive practices. It involves students questioning and analysing problems and their purported solutions.
- *Connecting* – is the deepening of understanding and empathy through relating to others involved in the process of service-learning (other students, community members and academic staff). It is an affective process, not a cognitive one. For Kiely, it is “learning through non-reflective modes such as sensing, sharing, feeling, caring, participating, relating, listening, comforting, empathising, intuiting, and doing” (Kiely, 2005, p. 8).

Coryell, Stewart, Wubben, Valverde-Poenie and Spencer (2016) applied Kiely’s model in analysing the experience of their international service-learning students and suggested a social ecological model, rather than the linear phase model proposed by Kiely. They proposed that an ecological model allows for the cascade effect that occurs across the processes, and thus is able to account for students’ back-and-forth movements across layers of transformation, and further is able to accommodate when students have negative experiences.

2.2.5 Post-modern approaches to service-learning

Others (e.g. Butin, 2003; Le Grange, 2007) argued for multiple conceptualisations of service-learning. Deans (1999) suggested “we should resist the impulse to recruit service-learning practitioners into a single philosophical, theoretical or pedagogical framework” (p. 26)

In trying to counter a ‘McDonalds effect’ (where Le Grange likens service-learning to a McDonalds burger¹ imported/imposed on Africa as a result of Americanisation), Le Grange (2007) argued for a rhizomatic approach to service-learning. He stated that an arborescent

¹ John Eby (1998, p. 2) similarly wrote of “McService, service bites, quick-fix service, happy meal community service, or service in a box”.

approach results in hierarchical and dichotomous thinking, where researchers seek and justify the use of a theoretical taproot (such as Dewey). A rhizomatic approach, however, embraces diverse forms, and when these different perspectives (e.g. western thought and indigenous traditions) meet, then territorialisation and de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation are possible. In this way “all aspects of service-learning (such as outcomes, learning activities) are in constant movement, that is, without fixity. They are always tentatively understood as moments that emerge during pedagogical episodes when lecturers, students and community members interact” (Le Grange, 2007, p. 9). Le Grange’s approach is attractive as it offers the possibility of recognising the different, multiple ways of knowing that interact in service-learning (in theory, curriculum and practice).

Dan Butin (2005) proposed a post-modern approach to service-learning, which he claimed allows practitioners to ignore normative processes and constructions of best practices, and rather focus on *how* service-learning is enacted. Butin (2005) argued that service-learning can be viewed through four distinct lenses: technical, cultural, political and post-modern. These are explained below:

- A *technical* conceptualisation focuses on the effectiveness of service-learning as a pedagogy.
- A *cultural* conceptualisation focuses on the meanings of the practice for individuals and institutions. He claims that this kind of conceptualisation aims to promote respect for diversity and enable alternative visions of self or society.
- A *political* conceptualisation focuses on ensuring disempowered and minority groups in society are heard by redressing disempowering practices. He regards this as a social justice perspective where higher education is a central agent of an equitable society.
- Butin (2005) offered a *post-modern* perspective, because he emphasised that while practitioners promote the above perspectives “with all the ‘right’ reasons” (p. 91), they do not realise that they are internally self-contradictory.

He explained, for example, that cultural conceptions which emphasise tolerance towards diversity are limited, as ultimately tolerance can only extend so far. He referred to Fish (1999, pp. 60-61) in this regard:

The trouble with stipulating tolerance as your first principle, however, is that you cannot possibly be faithful to it because sooner or later the culture whose core values you are tolerating will reveal itself to be intolerant at the same core . . . Confronted with a demand that it surrender its viewpoint or enlarge it to include the practices of its natural enemies—other religions, other races, other genders, other classes—a beleaguered culture will fight back with everything from discriminatory legislation to violence.

Butin (2005) extended this notion of internal contradiction to service-learning and proposed that we regard service-learning as a 'text' and focus on what the text 'does', not what it 'says' (e.g. claims of altruism, social justice, etc.). In so doing, service-learning practitioners may be able to recognise the constructed nature of notions of 'best practices' in service-learning. Recognising this construction, service-learning practitioners can view service-learning as positioned relative to other competing constructions – in what he calls “a strategic move” (p. 97). Butin (2005) argued that if one accepts this notion of service-learning, it can no longer be claimed to be a neutral teaching practice, but a disruptive force. Lastly, focusing on service-learning in this manner (with no clear indication of 'truth' or 'rightness' of practices) forces practitioners not to foreclose on students' experiences, but to recognise the “dilemmas and ambiguities of living with and through the complexity of how life works” (p. 98).

Australian academic Carrington (2011) took up Butin's (2005) proposal of a post-modern perspective, and Le Grange's (2007) rhizomatic approach. In her study of students' learning journals, she found evidence of re-territorialisation in the manner in which students utilised the concepts from academic learning and developed them in novel and multidirectional ways when this theory was translated into practice. She also reported this re-territorialisation in student subjectivities: “student identities shift from the traditional forms to take root elsewhere ... in a nonlinear, nomadic fashion” (Carrington, 2011, p. 11).

Thus many theoretical alibis have been claimed for service-learning and the philosophy/pedagogy/practice has gained legitimacy as a scholarly activity. The next section highlights how further legitimacy has been claimed by positioning service-learning as an aspect of the scholarship of engagement (Boyer, 1996).

2.3 Situating service-learning in higher education

In *Scholarship reconsidered*, Boyer (1990) challenged higher education to consider forms of scholarship that went beyond traditional understanding of academic work. He proposed the scholarship of discovery (research), the scholarship of integration (making connections across different disciplinary or stakeholder perspectives), the scholarship of application (using knowledge in socially responsive ways), and the scholarship of teaching (beyond knowledge transmission, to extension and transformation). He later (1996) proposed a further form of scholarship, the scholarship of engagement: “connecting the rich resources of the university to our most pressing social, civic and ethical problems, to our children, to our schools, to our teachers and to our cities” (Boyer, 1996, pp. 19-20).

Bob Bringle and colleagues have worked hard to position service-learning within the frame provided by Boyer and to argue for service-learning as a legitimate scholarly activity. In the figure below (Figure 2.3), Bringle, Hatcher and Hahn (2017) provided a conceptual map of how service-learning fits within a broader frame of civic (community) engagement activities, and how it integrates the teaching and service dimensions of the academic endeavour.

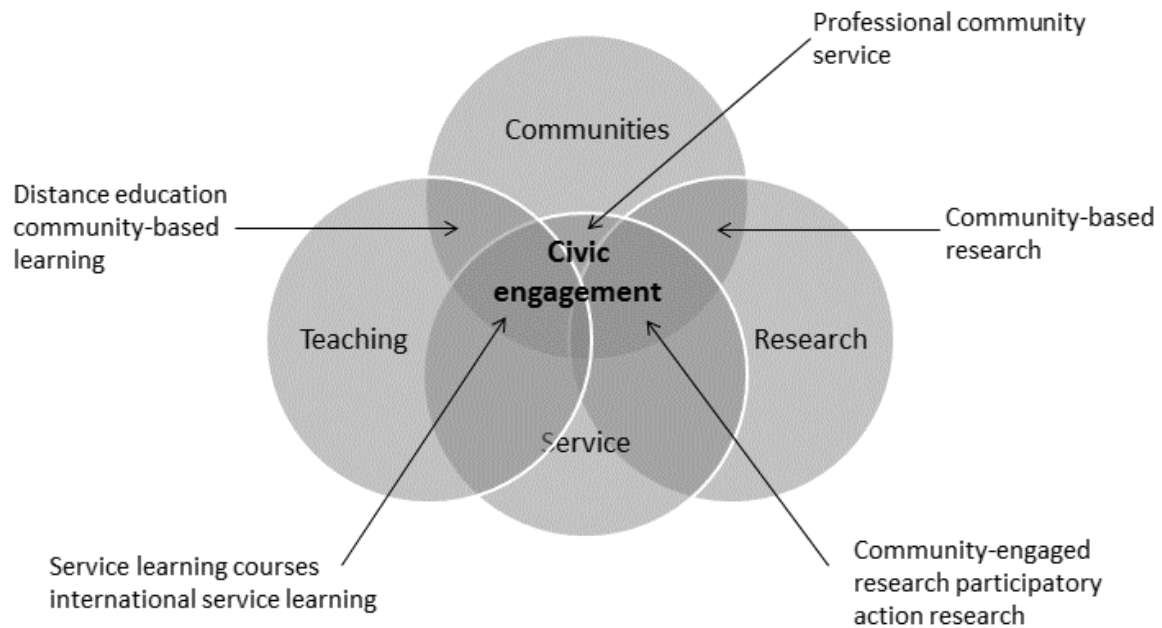


Figure 2.3: Positioning service-learning as a scholarly activity.
(Adapted from Bringle, Hatcher & Hahn, 2017, p. 9)

Within the academy, the investment in service-learning is influenced by both structural and resource factors, as well as paradigmatic issues. At one extreme, Bringle et al. (2017) provided a taxonomy for service-learning where they carefully crafted the attributes of high-impact service-learning and how they can be achieved at different levels (see more below, section 2.8.) and at the other extreme, Weber and colleagues approached the endeavour from a business perspective and offered their conclusions based on ‘bang for buck’ principles:

[U]niversities can save considerable time, money and faculty resources by targeting exposures more carefully in a way that exposes the maximum number of students the minimum amount to produce desired outcomes. In a time when higher education is stressed for resources, this is a timely and important question. (Weber, Weber & Young, 2015, p. 142)

Given its claims of counter-normativity, higher education institutions have questioned how service-learning is different from existing practices of internships or practicums. Furco (1996) offered a continuum for understanding how these activities are related but vary depending on the beneficiary of the exercise and whether the focus is on the service or the learning. He claimed that service-learning can be distinguished from other approaches by its “intention to equally benefit the provider and the recipient of the service as well as to

ensure equal focus on both the service being provided and the learning that is occurring” (p. 5). See Figure 2.4 below.

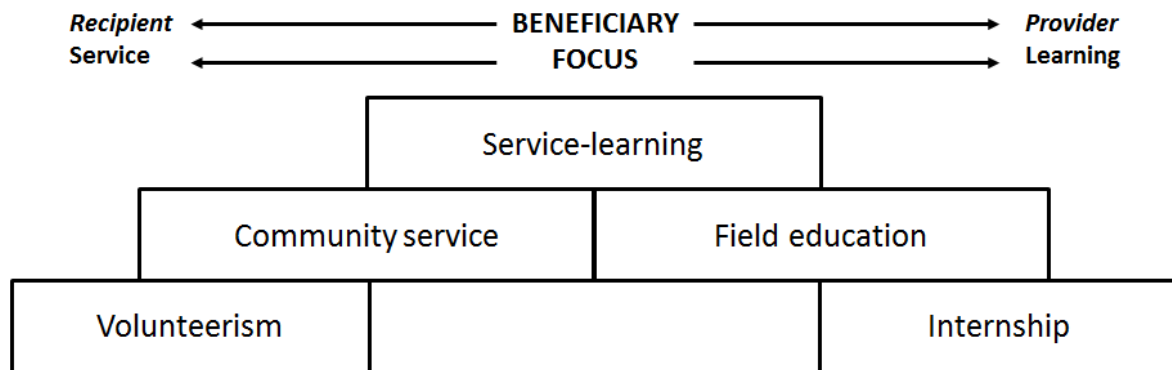


Figure 2.4: Distinctions among service-learning programmes.
(Adapted Furco, 1996, p. 3)

A further debate in the field concerns how service-learning activities should be understood, whether they can be located along a continuum – with charity at one end and social justice at the other, or whether they should be considered discrete entities. Whilst many practitioners see the virtue of a continuum which allows for more permutations, Morton (1995) questioned the validity of a continuum on the premise that the different forms are based on different paradigms, and that the work of service-learning is to encourage students to enter more deeply into the chosen paradigm. He argued,

that the ideas of a continuum and progress from charity to advocacy do not square with how people do service or why they do it. Rather than a continuum, I want to suggest that three relatively distinct paradigms of service exist, what I will call charity, project development and social change. (Morton, 1995, pp. 20-21)

Morton (1995) considered each of these paradigms in terms of focus, form, time, expression, effect and the ways it serves the community. Strain (2006) took up Morton’s ideas and proposed that service-learning is more complex than the continuum model is able to capture. He argued that students are capable of moving along and across paradigms in an integrative way, that is, that service-learning is a multilinear endeavour, which he likens to moving like a starfish. His work is also interesting in that he highlighted the interrelated nature of being – he said we “interare” (Strain, 2006, p. 5). Thus, he rejected the duality of

self and other and claimed that when we are in touch with others, an awareness of our interconnectedness “scours away any sense of *noblesse oblige*, any patronising or condescending attitude, any trace of moral superiority” (p. 5). Thus, a student may be engaged in an act of ‘charity’ in one dimension, but may be engaged in multiple other ways of being at the same time. This reference to the interconnectedness of being is foregrounded here, as there is little reference to this spiritual dimension in the literature, and because of its resonance with African cosmology, which is highlighted below.

The brief synopsis above attempted to explicate the ways in which service-learning has been understood as a scholarly and theoretically sound practice. The next section explores how it has been appropriated in South Africa.

2.4 Situating service-learning in Africa and South Africa

Whilst referring to service-learning in Africa threatens to impose the status of a country on a continent (as is often performed in the literature), in this case it is useful as there is very little research on service-learning in Africa, other than that stemming from South Africa. Although there are some community engagement activities reported in African higher education institutions (Preece, 2013), there is very little reporting, discussion or debate around service-learning. A recent Ghanaian study (Tagoe, 2014) reported the results of a survey of student attitudes towards service-learning, before any service-learning had been introduced at the University of Ghana. Tagoe (2014) wrote, “in Africa, where the poor constitute the bulk of the population, universities are being called upon to use their expertise to solve pressing societal problems such as environmental degradation, poverty reduction and education for all” (p. 85). Thus, although he saw a place for service-learning, he was unable to report of any such activity in Ghana.

In her masters thesis, Urvashi Dabysing (2014) also concluded that little is known about service-learning in African countries. She also highlighted that African philosophies may have an important role to play in how service-learning is received and manifested in practice. This is discussed in more depth below.

Service-learning in South Africa was mainly driven by the Community Higher Education Service Partnership (CHESP) project (in 2000) which was funded, in part, by the Ford Foundation and the Department of Education. CHESP sought to increase community engagement at South African higher education institutions by selecting 'pioneer' universities and then training and encouraging core group members to promote the initiatives in their contexts (e.g. HEI, service-organisation, communities). For more on the CHESP initiative, see Lazarus, Erasmus, Hendricks, Nduna and Slamati (2008). Whilst the CHESP initiative funded more than 100 service-learning courses across eight HEIs, many activist academics had been engaged in community based initiatives prior to this, and during the apartheid years.

The CHESP project occurred in the context of Department of Education mandates to transform higher education. Education White Paper 3 (Department of Education, 1997) referred to community engagement as an integral part of higher education, and called on HEIs to "demonstrate social responsibility ... and their commitment to the common good by making available expertise and infrastructure for community service programmes" (1997, p. 10). White Paper 3 (1997, p. 10) also indicated that one of the goals of HEIs was to "promote and develop social responsibility and awareness amongst students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes" (1997, p. 10). The Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) of the Council for Higher Education included "knowledge-based community service" (HEQC, 2001, p. 9) as a criterion for quality assurance for higher education. The subsequent criteria for institutional audits and for programme accreditation included criteria on service-learning and community engagement.

Thus, South African HEIs were fertile ground for the CHESP initiative – Department of Education policies, international donors and experienced academic activists ensured that the programme was successful during its tenure. Since 2007, when the funding period ended, there has been a lull in these kinds of activities (Stanton & Erasmus, 2013). Although many academics still continue with service-learning programmes in a variety of disciplines, these are largely unfunded, and unsupported by the HEI, unless structural arrangements are in place to facilitate these activities. Research and publications regarding service-learning in

South Africa are still robust, and debates regarding its origins, relevance and effectiveness continue. The issue of the interaction between African philosophies (e.g. Ubuntu) and service-learning has not been explored, other than by Mitchell and Dabysing (2016).

Whilst mentioned in the doctoral theses of O'Brien (2010) and Naudé (2007), who explored service-learning in South Africa, Ubuntu has otherwise not been linked to service-learning. Ubuntu is a philosophy which emphasises the interconnectedness of all beings. The well-being of the individual is dependent on the well-being of the community, the environment, the living and the living dead. In isiZulu, it is said "*Umntu ngumuntu ngabantu*"; one exists because of others in a web of relationships (Dolamo, 2013). This is similar to Strain's (2006) notion of how we "interare", and indicates that we need to understanding being in service-learning in a much broader sense.

Mitchell and Dabysing's (2016) exploration of service-learning students in four African countries found that African philosophies influenced students' sense of duty to assist the communities they worked in, that notions of family and supporting family went beyond Western notions of family to include community members towards whom they felt a sense of responsibility and belonging, and that collectivist values made service-learning a congruent and meaningful experience for these students. There is thus a need to extend service-learning research in South Africa and Africa to be able to report on the unique contributions this re-territorialisation of service-learning has to offer. Another largely underexplored area concerns the lack of communities' perspectives in service-learning research.

2.5 The lack of communities' voices

The issue of who or what is 'community' has been debated ad-infinitum (see Stanton & Erasmus, 2013, for comparisons of the notion of community). Every new entrant to the field of community engagement needs to grapple with their perspective of community and how that is constructed. In South Africa, the notion of community has tended to be equated with 'black' disadvantaged people. A broader notion of community is generally more useful as it allows for recognition of the multiple ways in which communities are formed and function.

Further, references to 'the community' imagine a homogenous group of people 'out there', an amorphous and homogenous other. Such references are not that useful and tend to limit students' perspectives, thus I prefer using the plural 'communities' to reference the fact that there are many different communities in existence both inside and outside the academy.

Given the reciprocal nature of service-learning, and given its values of social justice and equality, it is ironic that so little research attention has been paid to communities' perspectives of the endeavour (Mitchell & Humphries, 2007). This is an international phenomenon. Reeb and Folger (2013, p. 401) stated "there is a significant lack of research exploring community outcomes of service learning, representing a surprising void in the literature, yet the demonstration of community outcomes (benefits and costs) must be a priority in future service learning research". In his chapter *Why I worry*, Stoecker (2016) expressed his concerns about service-learning and highlighted the lack of research on actual community outcomes. He argued that the research that does exist highlights what students did, not what communities did, focuses on individualised effects, or documents how communities felt about the service-learning and not the actual outcomes of the service.

Community members' voices are also not foregrounded in the current study and thus the research is complicit in prioritising student and academic perspectives. This is the subject of future research.

2.6 Service-learning outcomes for students

Whilst not focusing on outcomes or consequences for communities, the bulk of service-learning research has reported on programmes and their outcomes for students.

2.6.1 Positive perspectives

Numerous studies have cited the benefits of service-learning for students. Meta-analyses of these studies have been conducted and are reported below.

A meta-analysis of 103 studies examined the evidence for service-learning on the extent and type of change in students, the programme elements that effected this change, and the generalisability of the results (Conway, Amel & Gerwien, 2009). Conway and colleagues explored the outcomes for students along four dimensions: academic, personal, social, and citizenship outcomes. These categories and their sub-categories are displayed in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1
Service-learning outcomes for students

Academic outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Knowledge/GPA/grades B. Cognitive outcomes C. Academic motivation and attitudes
Personal outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Self-evaluations B. Volunteer motivations C. Moral development D. Alienation/deviance (reverse scored) E. Well-being F. Career development
Social outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Skill – interacting or working with others B. Understanding or tolerating diversity C. Beliefs, knowledge or attitudes toward those served D. Beliefs or attitudes toward marginalised people in general
Citizenship outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Personally responsible citizenship B. Participatory citizenship C. Justice-oriented citizenship D. Combination of citizenship types

Conway et al. (2009) found moderate effect sizes for academic ($d = .43$) and learning outcomes, a small effect for social ($d = .28$) and personal ($d = .21$) outcomes, with the smallest effect for citizenship outcomes ($d = .17$). They also found that structured reflection produced greater changes in these outcomes.

A more recent meta-analysis of the effects of service-learning on social, personal and cognitive outcomes in students was conducted by Yorio and Ye (2012). They claimed to utilise more stringent inclusion criteria than Conway et al. (2009) and thus reviewed 40

articles (from 1993 – 2010), which included 5 495 students. Although, their inclusion criteria were more stringent, the studies that they scrutinised did not have to include a control group of any kind. They concluded that service-learning positively impacts on students' cognitive development ($d = .52$), their understanding of social issues ($d = .34$), and personal insight ($d = .28$). In addition they explored the relationship between social attitudes and civic responsibility, which was defined as the student's "felt obligation, motivation, and ability to engage in citizenship behaviours" (p. 20). Yorio and Ye (2012) included 17 of the studies originally mentioned by Conway et al. (2009) and added a further 23, thus a total of 126 quantitative studies were reviewed in these meta-analyses.

Celio, Durlak and Dymnicki (2011) reviewed 62 service-learning programmes involving 11 837 students. They included studies that had at least one control group. They found multiple positive effects for service-learning in five domains: "attitudes towards self, attitudes toward school and learning, civic engagement, social skills, and academic achievement" (Celio et al., 2011, p. 171). Academic performance had the largest effect size ($d = .43$), followed by social skills ($d = .30$), attitudes about self ($d = .28$), attitudes about learning ($d = .28$), with civic engagement once again having the smallest effect size ($d = .27$). They unfortunately did not provide any further breakdown of how these domains were operationalised in their research. They also noted, as have others, that most of the research is based on student self-report.

There is such variety in the field of service-learning and how it is practiced that comparisons across studies are difficult. For example, there are differences in: the length of the service-learning, the timing of service-learning, whether it is curricular or co-curricular, voluntary or compulsory, the use of structured reflection, the intensity of experience, the community context, local or international, and the level of students and their characteristics. These three studies have assisted somewhat in trying to summarise the evidence in the field.

2.6.2 Critical perspectives

In 1998, Eby wrote a paper entitled 'Why service-learning is bad' where he outlined how some service-learning programmes have negative consequences for the participants. He

argued that “the excitement and euphoria of the service-learning movement, fueled by dramatic stories of the benefits of linking learning and service masks underlying troubling issues” (Eby, 1998, p. 2). The purpose of his article was to challenge researchers and practitioners in the field to consider the problematic dimensions and address them in their programme design and research agendas. Although the field has matured since then, some of his early criticisms still hold:

The service students do is often ameliorative and the explanations of social issues gained through service-learning are often individualistic. Through participation in service-learning, students may develop truncated understandings of the nature of social problems and of strategies for fundamental social change. (Eby, 1998, p. 1)

Eby was primarily concerned that students’ understanding of need as deficiency, and their simplistic understanding of service, resulted in activities which would only benefit the student, or worse harm communities and entrench students’ preconceived ideas regarding individualistic reasons for social problems. He argued that these kinds of service-learning failed to recognise the structural nature of issues.

Other authors have had similar criticisms of service-learning endeavours. Jones, LePeau, and Robbins (2013, p. 214) examined the narrative of five service-learning students and also found that in some instances the service-learning “increased prejudices, reinforced stereotypes and unexamined beliefs” and inadvertently “reif(ied) the very inequities service-learning educators seek to disrupt” (Jones et al., 2013, p. 215). Similarly, Clark and Nugent (2011) raised concerns that when service-learning takes place in the context of unbalanced power relations, where students are doing something *for* communities rather than *with* communities, it can result in increased feelings of difference and tolerance, of “patronisation and alienation” (p. 8). King (2004) wrote that being in the position of providing a service to an other implies the freedom to walk away when the service-provision is done (whilst the community participant usually has no choice to leave the problem situation).

Burth (2016) critically evaluated the claims regarding the benefits of service-learning by comparing evidence from the US and Germany. He noted there is very little evidence in the

current research in Germany and that there are no studies exploring the impact of service-learning at universities. He acknowledged the many American publications relating positive outcomes, but emphasised that willingness to participate in civic engagement is merely a statement of intent and not an indication of action. This is explored in more detail below.

2.6.3 Complex perspectives

Qualitative case study research has allowed more complex accounts of students' experiences and outcomes to emerge. Jones and Abes (2004) interviewed students who had done service-learning two to four years earlier. Their research revealed the nuanced experiences of the participants, particularly in respect to their identity development, and that through the process, students had interacted with people different from themselves, which raised questions of economic and educational privilege.

Kiely (2004) explored the experiences of 22 students who participated in an international service-learning experience. He reported a number of ways in which students' perspectives were challenged (along moral, political, intellectual, cultural, personal and spiritual dimensions). This transformation was, however, not unproblematic, and Kiely (2004) reported a "chameleon complex" (p.14) where students struggled to maintain their new perspectives upon returning home to dominant norms and the beliefs and reactions of those close to them. He therefore concluded that linear developmental models do not adequately capture the complexities of the students' experiences.

Clayton and Ash (2004) described a developmental process that they perceived their service-learning students went through. The first phase is a period of excitement, hope and confidence as the students embrace this new way of learning. Following this comes a phase of uncertainty and confusion as they encounter the challenges of the real world, and of their responsibility for their own learning. In the third phase, a lack of apparent outcomes in their service, a lack of community involvement and confusion about the learning process result in frustration and uncertainty. They state that if students can successfully negotiate this phase (through reflection activities), they can move into a final phase characterised by openness to challenge, creativity, self-awareness and a sense of responsibility and community. Clayton

and Ash (2004, p. 61) state “our task is thus to see – and to help our students see – uncertainty, confusion, insecurity, and frustration as normal, acceptable, and even beneficial dimensions of learning – as signs, in fact, that learning and growth are taking place.”

In his master’s thesis, Bursaw (2012), reporting on the Australian context, also explored the complexities of students’ experiences. He argued that the categorical organisation of outcomes (as per some of the more positivist studies reported above) did not represent the student experiences which were more interrelated and holistic. He developed the figure below (Figure 2.5) to try to capture the perspective shifts the students went through – from catalytic encounters where the students experienced difference and dissonance, through examinations of the dilemmas and ambiguities these experiences raised, to processes of integration and resolution.

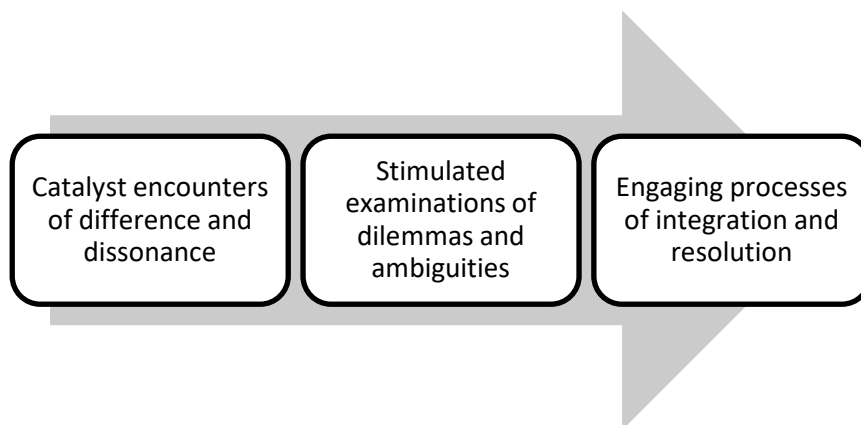


Figure 2.5: Experiencing perspective shifting through service-learning framework.
Adapted from Bursaw, 2012, p. 133

Gemignani’s (2013) account of his students’ experiences is particularly germane to the current study. He examined the psychological challenges his students encountered in a community psychology programme where the students worked with recently-arrived refugees. He found the students experienced compassion, fatigue, responsibility and an identification process which were both beneficial *and* challenging to the students. He claimed that the reflection process resulted in “responsibilisation” (p. 3) which was characterised by the students’ progression towards adopting responsibility and accepting their agency.

Gemignani (2013) identified three main dynamics in the students' experiences:

- *The use of psychology* – where the students realised they could apply psychology in the context in which they were working. He claims that this enabled students to identify “as agents of change and to start seeing themselves as capable helpers” (Gemignani, 2013, p. 6). This recognition also resulted in anxiety as students realised their responsibility in working with a perceived vulnerable population. This sense of responsibility was further entrenched by the students' association with the university and the psychology department.
- *Building of a practitioner identity* – where he claims the service-learning enabled students to envision themselves as future practitioners or professionals. Using a post-structuralist lens, he argues that ‘identity’ is that which is constituted through its performance in specific contexts of power, through particular discourses, and regimes of truth. Thus, the students' work in these contexts allowed them to construct expressions of themselves that confirmed their views of themselves as future professionals.
- *Recognising the effectiveness of service and its relevance for one's identity* – where the service-learning experience became part of the students' identity and affected students' relationships. In addition, the narration of the service-learning experience (through reflection) positioned the students in particular ways, for example, as helpers, as opposed to those who are in need. When challenged about these paternalistic positions, and the associated responsibilities and power games, Gemignani's students became distressed and disappointed in themselves.

The issues of identity and subjectivity; power, positioning and responsibility; and their construction through the service-learning experience, and reflection on it, were thus foregrounded in Gemignani's (2013) work. He concluded:

Rather than seeing the students' engagement in their community service as an obstacle to effective service-learning, I argue that experiences of compassion and identification can be constructive tools and occasions for critical reflection, engagement with the field, self-knowledge, and understanding of the limits of power and responsibility in community service. (Gemignani, 2013, p. 1)

Canadian academic Butterwick (2015) also provided food for thought when she promoted an ecology of knowledges for service-learning. She cited the work of Andreotti, Ahenakew and Cooper (2011, cited in Butterwick, 2015) who argued that students need to be encouraged to move beyond “mono-epistemicism” (p. 46) and the kind of dialectical thinking which requires them to choose between different perspectives, and rather to be equipped to hold two or more perspectives in tension.

The results from these qualitative, non-categorical approaches therefore provide insight into the complex processes of students’ experiences and therefore outcomes. Instead of accepting and adopting binaries, these authors describe the ways in which challenges and dilemmas can both be problematic and beneficial. They also propose more nuanced and ecological ways of thinking about student outcomes. Having said that, the next section will move back into binaries and mostly positivistic thinking, as it reports on the literature and research with regard to citizenship outcomes in service-learning.

2.7 Service-learning and citizenship

The following section describes the numerous investigations into service-learning and citizenship. It also details notions of citizenship and even global citizenship. Whilst much progress has been made in the field since the early nineties, it is worth considering the perspective offered by Suspitsyna (2012) who used a Foucauldian approach to consider citizenship education (including through service-learning) in the U.S. In her article, she reflected on the competing goals of higher education, either as an industry or as a social institution, and argued that the citizenship goals of the social institution discourse are subjugated by the more dominant discourses of preparing “competitive graduates for the job market” (2012, p. 49). She highlighted the fact that the preparation of citizens has largely been relegated to the humanities, and to voluntary service-learning, and ‘outreach’ programmes. This broader framework of considering higher education as an industry or a social institution, and what it is really ultimately invested in (politically and financially), is worth keeping in mind as one reads the ‘evidence’ and excitement regarding citizenship claims presented below.

In 1997, Janet Eyler and colleagues (Eyler, Giles, Root & Price, 1997) presented a paper entitled 'Service learning and the development of expert citizens'. In this paper, they reported on the service-learning experiences of 55 college students from six different colleges, and claimed that "expertise in social problem solving and community action resulted from the service-learning" (p. 4). To be fair to Eyler and her co-researchers, in referring to 'expertise' they were drawing on the apprenticeship model, thus employing the binaries of 'expert' and 'novice' to ascertain the value of service-learning for these students and their knowledge processes. I foreground this study, however, as the claims about service-learning and citizenship tend to steer towards an uncritical belief that service-learning creates good/active/expert citizens, as exemplified in the title of their (Eyler et al., 1997) study.

Kahne and Westheimer (1996) reflected on the great enthusiasm for service-learning that was apparent in the US in the 1990s. They tried to issue a cautionary voice in their question 'In the service of what?'. In their paper, they examined different approaches to service-learning and their different goals in the domains of moral, political and intellectual functioning. Whilst acknowledging that the categories were not necessarily discrete, they offered the following matrix for analysing service-learning curricula:

Table 2.2
Service-learning goals

	Moral	Political	Intellectual
Charity	Giving	Civic duty	Additive experience
Change	Caring	Social reconstruction	Transformative experience

(Kahne & Westheimer, 1996, p.5)

They thus challenged service-learning practitioners to consider their goals along a number of dimensions:

- From a *moral* perspective, was the service-learning activity designed to promote giving or caring? In this regard, giving was understood to be a focus on charitable acts, whereas caring was characterised by an emphasis on the development of relationships and connections.

- From a *political* perspective, was the service-learning activity designed to promote a sense of civic duty or social reconstruction? Civic duty was characterised by altruism and the need to be a responsive citizen by volunteering and caring for the less fortunate. Social reconstruction was the critical examination of social policies and structural conditions, and the development of skills to participate in political activities.
- From an *intellectual* perspective, was the service-learning designed to add to students' existing knowledge, or to transform students' understanding, by combining social action with critical enquiry?

It is interesting that these questions, posed twenty years ago, are in the main, still not prioritised. They also prophetically warn that "more attention has been focused on moving forward than on asking where we are headed" and that the "controversial issues surrounding the means and ends of service learning have been pushed to the back ground" (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996, p. 594). Perhaps one of the reasons for the lack of attention to the means and ends is the relative importance of these questions to service-learning practitioners and researchers. There appears to be a 'softer' and an 'edgier' side to understandings of the role of service-learning and citizenship. Proponents of the 'softer' side do not tend to problematise notions of citizenship, and instead refer to civic outcomes related to knowledge, skills and attitudes. Those who call for more 'edgy' approaches, value social justice and action to overcome inequality and oppression. They therefore struggle with how citizenship is enacted, which is not so easily measured.

2.7.1 Evidence for citizenship claims – the softer side

The research in the nineties, and even some studies today, did not problematise the notion of citizenship or civic responsibility. The researchers operationalised the concept and measured its presence in student surveys. For example, in an early study investigating student benefit in terms of civic outcomes, Astin and Sax (1998) collected survey data from 3 000 students from 42 institutions. They concluded that "participating in service during the undergraduate years substantially enhances the student's academic development, life skill development, and sense of civic responsibility" (p. 251). In their study they reported the top four reasons for participating in service-learning were a) to help other people b) to feel

personal satisfaction c) to improve my community, and d) to improve society as a whole. They conceptualised this as a strong indication of “civic responsibility and service to others” (p. 254). A closer look at the operationalisation of ‘civic responsibility’ reveals that they investigated students’ commitment to:

- participate in a community action programme,
- help others who are in difficulty,
- help promote racial understanding,
- become involved in programmes to help clean-up the environment,
- influence social values,
- influence the political structure,
- serve community.

It is evident that a variety of understandings of citizenship are present in these statements. As this was a pre-/post-service participation survey, perhaps what is not surprising is that the students who scored the highest on these items in the pre-test, became those who participated in service. This study is significant because it highlights the possible influence of self-selection when considering studies (of student benefit) that compare student outcomes for students who did/did not participate in service-learning.

Also in the late nineties, Eyler and Giles (1999) surveyed more than 1 500 students and found that participating in “high quality service-learning leads to the values, knowledge, skills efficacy and commitment that underlie effective citizenship” (p. 164). The citizenship model employed by Eyler and Giles (1999) consisted of five dimensions of citizenship:

- *Value* (I ought to do) - which they equated to a sense of social responsibility,
- *Knowledge* (I know what I ought to do and why) – equating to expertise, and an understanding of social problems,
- *Skill* (I know how to do) – equating with an awareness of how to proceed,
- *Efficacy* (I can do, and it makes a difference) – belief in self-efficacy,
- *Commitment* (I must and I will do) – indicating their willingness to act.

More recently, Wang and Jackson (2005) expanded this model of citizenship by splitting the ‘value’ dimension into value *and* responsibility. For them, value equates to: “[T]his activity is important and we should do it” (p. 40) and responsibility to: “[I]t is my responsibility to do

it” (p. 41). This differentiation enabled them to establish that students are more willing to allocate higher scores to beliefs rather than actions, that is, “students have more confidence in their beliefs than their ability to act” (p. 46). Thus, students may be willing and believe it is important to be involved in social issues, but not necessarily that it is their responsibility.

A recent review study (Reason & Hemer, 2015) examined the instruments used to assess civic outcomes in higher education. The authors concluded that very few of the measures focused primarily or comprehensively on civic outcomes. They also found that most of these measures were quantitative in nature and used student self-report data. As a result, they suggest that qualitative research in this area would help to address the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions associated with civic learning in the process of service-learning courses.

A recent book entitled *Student civic outcomes in service learning* (Hatcher, Bringle & Hahn, 2017) contains a chapter from Hemer and Reason where they report the current state of the field in terms of civic outcomes, by looking at civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic attitudes and values. In reporting the research on civic *knowledge* outcomes, they include studies which examined the development of cognitive skills related to problem solving in the real world, as well as studies which regarded students’ understandings of the global context (historical, political, cultural, religious) in which communities exist. In terms of civic *skills*, they report studies which highlighted “cognitive, interpersonal, analytical, leadership and communication skills” (Hemer & Reason, 2017, p. 31). Civic *values* included interest in social and political information, willingness to engage and a sense of efficacy; in addition, they cite “respect for freedom and dignity, empathy, open-mindedness, tolerance, justice, promoting equality, integrity, and responsibility to a larger good” (p. 31). Examples of civic *behaviours* that result from service-learning include becoming involved in service-based organisations, taking up student leadership roles or participating in student organisations, and discussing social issues with peers. Civic *identity* is a relatively new addition to this portfolio of civic outcomes. Student engagement is one possible expression of civic identity, and is understood as ranging from students who are non-engagers, apolitical engagers, social-cultural engagers to super engagers.

There is thus a great deal of evidence for civic outcomes from service-learning documented in the book (Hatcher et al., 2017). The evidence presented ranges over disciplines and approaches and the variety of understandings of civic involvement and/or citizenship is apparent in each author's presentation of the state of the research in their field. The gentle approach to citizenship is clear in Bringle, Hatcher and Clayton's (2006) definition of civic engagement, presented in the 2017 volume:

Civic engagement is a subset of community involvement and is defined by both location as well as process (it occurs not only in but also with the community). According to this distinction, civic engagement develops partnerships that possess integrity and that emphasise participatory, collaborative, and democratic processes (e.g., design, implementation, assessment) that provide benefits to all constituencies. (Bringle et al., 2006, in Hatcher et al., 2017, p. 258)

In the same volume Mitchell and Rost-Banik (2017) introduce a more critical approach to the notion of civic outcomes. Using critical theory, they 'trouble' civic outcomes, stating "we must question who and what informs our conceptions of the civic and civic outcomes" (p. 186). The next section highlights research that has tried to 'trouble' ideas about citizenship.

2.7.2 Evidence for citizenship claims – edgier approaches

Ten years into the expansion of service-learning initiatives, Kahne, Westheimer and Rogers (2000) tried to direct research in the field by highlighting the "diverse assumptions about citizenship that ground various service-learning initiatives" (p. 45), and by asking "what kinds of citizens do service-learning programmes aim to develop?" (p.46). Given their political science background, issues around power and agenda needed to be foregrounded. They continued to push for this kind of critical reflection in their subsequent publications. In "Educating the 'good' citizen", Westheimer and Kahne (2004) highlighted the variability in the understandings and definitions of what constitutes the good citizen. They proposed three kinds of citizens: a) the personally responsible citizen, b) the participatory citizen, and c) the justice-oriented citizen. Their table describing these citizen typologies is reproduced below.

Table 2.3
Kinds of citizens

Kind of Citizens			
	Personally responsible citizen	Participatory citizen	Justice-orientated citizen
Description	Acts responsibly in his/her community Works and pays taxes Obeys laws Recycles, gives blood Volunteers to lend a hand in times of crises	Active member of community organisations and/or improvement efforts Organises community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment Knows how government agencies work Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks	Critically assesses social, political and economic structures to see beyond surface causes Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice Knows about social movements and how to effect systemic change
Sample Action	Contributes food to a food drive	Helps to organise a food drive	Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes
Core Assumptions	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible and law-abiding members of the community	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time

(Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 242)

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) emphasised that, while it is possible to pursue all three kinds of citizenship, there are likely to be conflicts as goals of compassion and kindness (at the individual level of the personally responsible citizen) may override more justice-oriented goals. They labelled the vision of a personally responsible citizen “conservative and individualistic” (p. 244). Their preference was for the creation of justice-oriented citizens. They acknowledged that this is a challenge, as even programmes that do focus on justice do

not necessarily result in students who are motivated or capacitated to participate in change processes. They remarked that “the ability to spot injustice is not organically linked to the inclination or the ability to take action” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 246).

Whilst critical theorists like Mitchell and Rost-Banik (2017) would likely reject the strict categorisation offered by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), they would agree with the focus on social justice and moving students towards taking action. Mitchell and Rost-Banik (2017) argued that “service-learning has not been focused on dismantling social and economic structures” (p. 187). They wrote that while students may be prepared with the knowledge and practices required to produce outcomes for social justice, they are not necessarily taught to reflect on how their actions can unintentionally perpetuate injustice. They also highlighted that a post-structuralist perspective recognises that people can hold multiple and contradictory positions. Indeed, “in research on students’ civic outcomes, it might be useful to consider how multiple and contradictory perspectives and locations can be captured” (Mitchell & Rost-Banik, 2017, p. 190).

Chovanec, Kajner, Mian and Underwood (2012, p. 54) called for “edgier, more radical placement options” for students which will require them to examine the causes of inequality and injustice. Their research, in a graduate adult education course, investigated the effects of placing students in activist settings. This challenging placement setting was due to their critical pedagogical approach, and in the light of criticisms of service-learning, this promotes particular kinds of citizenship related to a charitable orientation. They found that their students’ perceptions of ‘good’ citizens changed over the course of their module. These shifts in the understanding of citizenship related to changes in students’ identity, expression and awareness of their own positionalities and privilege in their contexts. They related these shifts to students’ learning from others, a strong theory-practice link in their programme, and the presence of disruptive learning experiences. They argued that placements that are intense and disruptive challenge students to ask critically engaged questions, and also provide the opportunity for students to experience what it feels like to be denied power, which somewhat levels the playing field between ‘server’ and ‘served’.

Practitioners working in international service-learning (sending students abroad) extend the citizenship argument to introduce the notion of the 'global' citizen. Advocates of this approach (Coryell et al., 2016) have also argued that service-learning in local communities does not offer a "radical enough experience to catalyse transformation in some students" (p. 422). They therefore offered students the opportunity to do their service-learning in an international post-disaster setting. In their study, they described their students as experiencing "civic minded dissonance" (p. 431), where a disorienting situation resulted in the students' preconceived perspectives being challenged. They claimed that their students developed global citizenship by gaining awareness and committing themselves to responsible citizenship in the future.

Larsen (2014, p. 2) argued that "that there is limited empirical evidence of the transformation of students into global citizens" through international service-learning. Her conceptualisation of a global citizen also promoted a more politicised approach, comprising two components: awareness and action. She argued that the critical global citizen has:

- *Awareness of difference*: This citizen is aware of the socio-historical roots of the 'othering' process that is the results of colonisation – the colonised other.
- *Self-awareness*: This citizen is able to acknowledge the limits of his/her own worldview, and is able to reflect on his/her own "positionality, power and privileges" (p. 6). This citizen can then use this knowledge to act outside of his/her comfort zone.
- *Global awareness*: This citizen has an understanding of social, political, economic, and cultural sources of inequality. This includes a concern for social and ecological justice.
- *Responsibility awareness*: This citizen recognises that he/she has the choice to respond to inequity and injustice. Larsen (2014) emphasises that this responsibility is beyond helping (a charitable approach) but involves "a deep sense of caring and concern towards and desire to work with the 'Other' in solidarity to effect social change" (p. 15).

Together with awareness comes action in three domains – self, civic and social justice. Social justice action is aimed at "changing belief systems, core and tightly held values and assumptions with the aim to [sic] transforming institutions and other power structures" (p. 7). Larsen equated this to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) justice-oriented citizen.

2.7.3 Advocates for inclusivity

Battistoni (2013) acknowledged the different conceptual frameworks connected to civic engagement, and summarised them as per Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4
Conceptual frameworks for civic engagement

Conceptual framework	View of citizenship	Understanding of civic knowledge	Associated civic skills
<i>Civic professionalism</i> (Sullivan, 2004)	Professional work with a civic purpose	Knowledge of the civic traditions and values of the professions	Public problem solving Civic judgment
<i>Social responsibility</i>	Responsibility to the larger society	Knowledge of public problems most closely associated with chosen field of work	Political knowledge of issues Organizational analysis
<i>Social justice</i> (Hollenbach, 1988)	Bringing one's spiritual values to bear on social problems	Knowledge of the principles of social justice and their application to public life	Civic judgment Collective action Cross-cultural competencies
<i>Connected knowing; ethic of care</i> (Gilligan, 1982)	Caring for the future of our public world	Knowledge of others and their perspectives on the world	Critical thinking Coalition building Cross-cultural competencies
<i>Public leadership</i> (Greenleaf, 1996)	Citizen as 'servant-leader'	Knowledge of the arts of collaborative leadership	Community building Communication
<i>Public intellectual</i> (Jacoby, 1987)	Thinkers who contribute to the public discourse	Knowledge of the traditions of writers and artists who have served as public intellectuals	Civic imagination Creativity
<i>Engaged/Public scholarship</i> (Boyer, 1996)	Participatory action researcher	Knowledge of how scholarly research might contribute to the needs and values of the community	Organisational analysis Public problem solving

(Battistoni, 2013, p. 113)

It is interesting to note that there is no mention of ‘activism’ in the list of civic skills Battistoni supplied in the table. The closest term is probably “collective action”, which, although recognised in some fields as a synonym for activism, would likely be far too soft an outcome for those interested in edgier, more radical citizenship development. In his chapter, Battistoni did not advocate for a preferred form of civic engagement but highlighted that research can be strengthened by conceptual clarity around the terms being used to describe the service-learning experience and the civic learning. He also advocated for future research into the role of educators and their intentions in their service-learning, “how they frame their work, their understanding of and experience with it, and how they see their role in citizen education and engagement” (Battistoni, 2013, p.126).

Mann, Dymond, Bonati and Neeper (2015) recommended less extreme conceptions of service-learning outcomes. They presented the polarised ways in which service-learning is positioned and argued that this weakens its effectiveness in citizenship education.

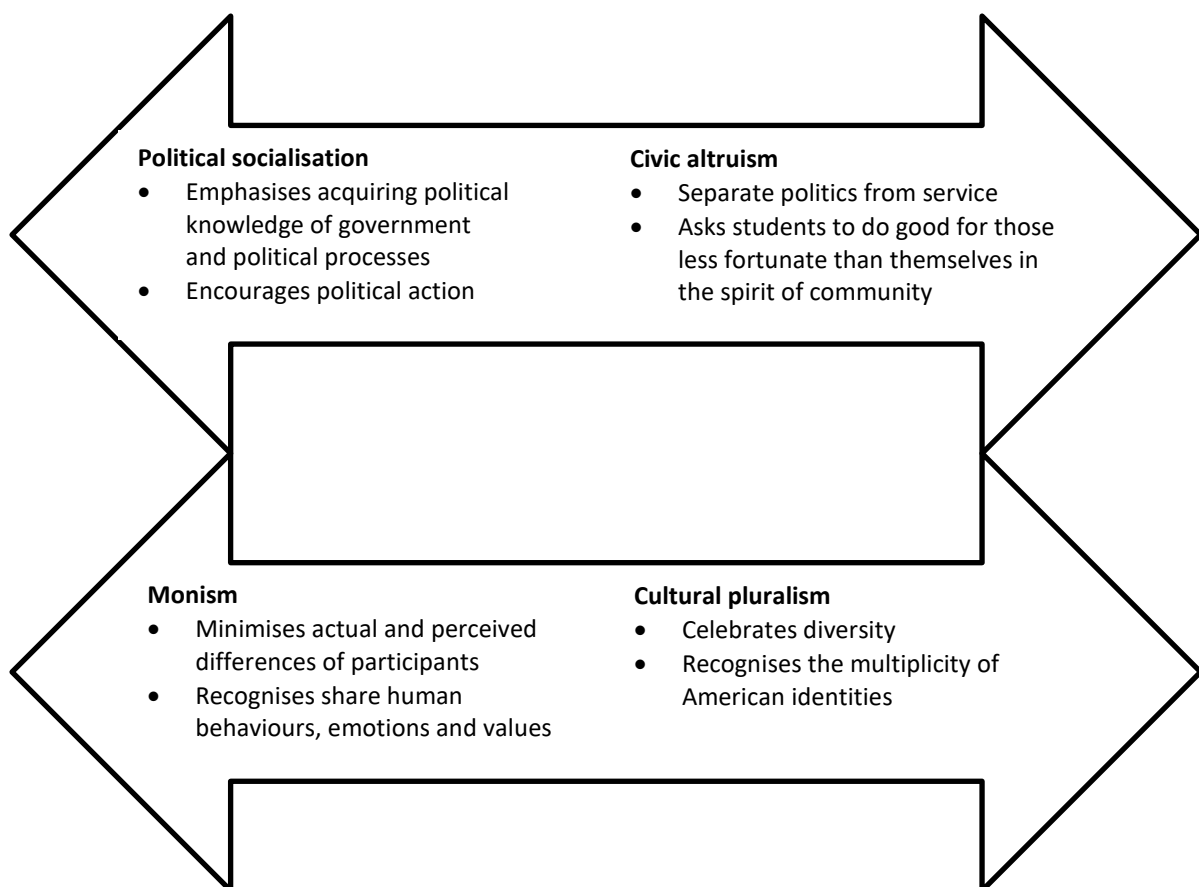


Figure 2.6: Competing objectives of service-learning for citizenship.
(Adapted from Mann et al., 2015, p. 60)

Mann et al. (2015) argued that placing a service-learning experience on these poles of service-learning – politics and diversity – results in a chasm which restricts acceptance of a multifaceted view of citizenship and its many forms.

In summary, it is evident that multiple conceptualisations of citizenship exist in the service-learning literature. In the main, these are characterised by either being political or altruistic, with corresponding outcomes. In an effort to deal with the prevailing dualism in the field, some authors suggest being more inclusive, and embracing diverse notions and versions of citizenship. There appears to have been very little research into the forms and processes of service-learning that produce these outcomes, particularly with respect to educator intention and programme design. Whilst there are strong and radical voices who favour the development of activist students and therefore encourage the use of disruptive experiences, there are those who raise ethical concerns about this kind of endeavour (Kiely, 2004). Managing the service-learning experience in an ethical, effective and responsible manner has also been the subject of debate in the field, with several authors outlining what they consider to be the characteristics of good programmes. These are discussed below.

2.8 Guidelines for ‘good’ programmes

After more than thirty years of service-learning activities in the USA, researchers and practitioners have identified the key ingredients for successful programmes. Of course, the success of the programme is determined by the academic, who determines the kinds of outcomes they are seeking to cultivate in the students. Those who use, what are perceived as, ‘thin’, mechanistic, charity-focused conceptualisations of service-learning will opt for softer recipes, whilst those who aim for radical effects would likely throw in a few different ingredients, and probably protest that recipes are too prescriptive and do not reflect the confusion and messiness of the real world.

Battistoni (2013) postulated some common characteristics of service-learning programmes, arguing that “any service learning course or programme must pay attention to these factors to be successful in achieving desired civic learning outcomes” (Battistoni, 2013, p. 122):

- The work that students do in communities should be meaningful, and thought needs to be given to the duration and intensity of this service.
- The curriculum needs to be designed with the civic outcomes in mind, and strong connections to the curriculum need to be facilitated for the students.
- Students should have a voice in the service-learning programme curriculum design and community projects.
- Communities should have a voice in setting the outcomes for the students, the implementation of activities, and beyond this, in the partnership with the HEI.
- There should be diverse people involved in diverse experiences.
- Critical reflection is present to generate meaning from the community-based experience.

Bringle et al. (2017) described the development of a taxonomy for service-learning for use on their campus. Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) has a history of institutional support for service-learning, a dedicated centre which has won national awards and grants, and highly productive researchers. The development of this taxonomy was another step in the process of institutionalising service-learning. Bringle et al. (2017) explained the usefulness of the taxonomy in creating a common approach, supporting institutional assessment and research and providing a framework for other institutions to adapt or adopt. In their taxonomy they emphasised (Bringle et al., 2017, pp. 16-17):

- reciprocal partnerships with the community hosts,
- community-based activities that enhance academic outcomes,
- civic competences – knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours – which are integrated into student learning,
- interactions and dialogue with others who are diverse/different,
- integrated critical reflection,
- assessment for course improvement.

Further, they provided three different levels (from thin to thick) at which these activities can occur. The taxonomy was developed following a review of “best practices” (Bringle et al., 2017, p. 15) documented in the literature. In addition, they advised that there are “grey areas” which they include campus mission and culture, HEI type and location, teaching

philosophy epistemology, duration of community project, and the prior learning experiences of the student (Bringle et al., 2017, p. 19).

Butin (2003) is one of the few critical voices in service-learning; he argues that this is not intended to destroy, but to encourage enquiry and debate in the field. Employing a post-structuralist perspective, he pointed out that notions of the 'essence' of service-learning, and formulations of best practices, should rather be regarded as truth claims and contested constructions of the subjectivities of the participants. He argued that specifying technical standards (like types of reflective activity or duration of community placements) are attempts to define the parameters for normative sovereignty. These moves serve to constrain practices to those which are considered legitimate modes of enacting service-learning.

In addition, these specifications of best practices do not adequately address the question of 'best for whom?' The limited research on impact on communities is testament to the fact that in the majority of cases, it is about what is best for students and/or faculty. Once again, Butin (2015) tried to disrupt normative notions of best practices and instead (ironically) offered some tenets for practice that move from practice to theory. He provocatively proposed considering practical aspects like channels and directions of communications, timing, and forms of assessment. A couple of examples are:

- If the community partner's phone number is not programmed into the instructor's cell phone, it is not critical service learning.
- If the project's outcomes can't be found in the community six months after its conclusion, it is not critical service learning. (Butin, 2015, pp. 8-9)

Thus, whilst many service-learning practitioners are working tirelessly to improve the effectiveness of their and others' programmes, sharing taxonomies, research on outcomes and the like, cautionary voices are challenging them to move beyond the rhetoric and critically reflect on their own assumptions that drive these agendas.

Whilst critical reflection is usually foregrounded as a key issue in the success of any service-learning programme, Butin (2003) argued further that it has not been sufficiently

problematised or operationalised in the service-learning research. The concept of critical reflection is taken up in the next section.

2.9 Critical reflection

Active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends, constitutes reflective thought. Dewey (1933, p. 118)

In the service-learning context, critical reflection is seen as the key mechanism (Eyler, 2002) for ensuring the experience is transformative or at the very least educative. Critical reflection can help students recognise how they benefit from service engagements and contextualise their experiences in terms of broader societal dynamics. As critical reflection is used in other educational endeavours and in professional development (Schön, 1990), the literature is vast. Some ideas from these other settings are provided in order to situate critical reflection in service-learning in this larger body of knowledge.

2.9.1 Critical reflection as a wicked issue

The first issue of note is that although the term critical reflection is used widely in educational and professional training fields, there is little agreement on how the term is best defined and understood. It has been classed as a 'wicked issue' by Harvey, Coulson, Mackaway and Winchester-Seeto (2010), who explained that, as with other wicked issues, it is "neither easily nor universally defined, comprised of a high degree of complexity, offering many possible approaches, and lacking clear causal pathways and solutions" (Harvey et al., 2010, p. 140). The varied use of the terms reflection, critical reflection and reflective practice is also extant in the service-learning field.

The second issue of importance is that the literature in these fields mainly focusses on techniques and tools for critical reflection and does not problematise purpose or guiding ideology. Fook, White and Gardner (2006) highlighted that, in the main, research on critical reflection usually describes the chief principles involved, or provides case studies where critical reflection has been used. They bemoaned the lack of empirical evidence regarding the practice and effectiveness of critical reflection. There appears to be much anecdotal

evidence for its effectiveness, but empirical studies which demonstrate the correlation between reflection and positive student learning outcomes is less prevalent (Harvey et al., 2010). Fook et al. (2006) pointed out that the studies that do exist have a variety of foci and, given the multiple interpretations of reflection and critical reflection, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from the existing research. The same can be said for the research on critical reflection in service-learning, where the main focus has been on providing the 'how-to's' of doing critical reflection in the context of a service-learning course, with many useful techniques and tools emerging.

Thirdly, despite the explosion of interest in reflection in diverse educational and business fields, often educational endeavours that require students to undertake reflection do not clarify what this means or direct students to appropriate literature (Fook et al., 2006). Lucas (2012) wrote that while critical reflection is considered a key component of learning processes, especially where rich learning through experience is possible, there is no clear understanding of the concept of critical reflection or that it is a "contested term reflecting the ideology of the user" (p. 1). 'Weaker' models of critical reflection in service-learning also do not provide clear guidance of what its purposes or processes are.

Lastly, authors interested in critical reflection have documented various positive outcomes of this practice. Rogers (2001) conducted an analysis of the concept of reflection in higher education, including those previously mentioned plus many others, and concluded that the major outcome of reflection is learning. His analysis revealed that different models resulted in different kinds of outcomes, either in cognitive development, self-development, emotional development, openness to learning, increased capacity and willingness to change or take action, increased capacity to tolerate uncertainty and increased flexibility.

Similarly Fook (2007) reported the following benefits of reflective practice in professional development: increased capacity for research and knowledge-building; better knowledge application (across contexts); the ability to develop responses that are appropriate to context; improved practice and the creation of new practice possibilities; and importantly, the capacity to practice in contexts of change and uncertainty. Similarly, the previous

sections in this chapter have outlined the evidence for the beneficial outcomes to students in service-learning, which in the main is understood to occur through the critical reflection process.

Thus, at first glance, reflection and critical reflection appear to be beneficial practices, enhancing learning and other positive outcomes for the person involved in the reflection, in a variety of educational and professional settings. The next section further describes how critical reflection has been understood and appropriated in the service-learning context.

2.9.2 Critical reflection in the service-learning context

As mentioned above, despite the lack of clarity regarding the concept of reflection, much has been written about *critical* reflection practices in service-learning. *Critical* reflection involves moving beyond merely reflecting on experience to asking critical questions about the conditions that led to that experience. It involves a shift in the nature of one's political and social awareness. Fisher (2003) described a hierarchy of three types of reflection:

- Firstly, there is *technical reflection* which involves reflection on the efficiency and effectiveness of means to achieve certain ends.
- Secondly, there is *practical reflection* which allows for the examination of goals and assumptions, and recognises that meanings are negotiated through language.
- Thirdly, at the tip of the hierarchy, is *critical reflection*, which Fisher (2003) described as adding moral and ethical criteria (such as justice and equity) and which involves locating the analysis of personal action within a wider historical, political and social context.

Critical reflection engages students not only in thinking about experience, but in theorising about it, in the sense of considering problematic questions associated with power, history and agency.

Ash and Clayton (2004) provided a detailed model of how to enhance critical reflection. They claimed their model “results in a rigorous reflection framework that maximises learning and helps to refine reflective skills” (p. 140). The DEAL model consists of three general phases of: *description*, *analysis* and *articulation of learning* outcomes. Within each

phase, the student is required to reflect on three categories: *academic, personal* and *civic* (pp. 140-142). This model is indeed comprehensive, with detailed questions at each phase and within each category to guide students' thinking. As with many other writings in the field, it provides a good 'how to' guide for practitioners who are struggling to develop the skill of critical reflection – both for themselves and for their students. Ash and Clayton (2004) described this model as involving “efforts to develop a rigorous, adaptable, learner-centred approach that both challenges and supports students in learning through reflection on experience” (p. 151).

There are many resources available to assist with the practicalities of the reflection process. There is a multitude of techniques available ranging from individual critical incident journals, web applications to reflective processes. This chapter focuses on the critical reflection discussion group as the particular technique in question. There are many ways in which critical reflection can take an oral form (storytelling, peer interviews, audio recordings); a discussion group is where the participating students meet with the faculty member/facilitator to discuss their experiences at their community sites.

The previous chapter documented the meta-analyses of student outcomes from service-learning; many of these are attributed to the critical reflection process. Through critical reflection, students are said to gain a deeper understanding of what they learn, and the ability to apply their learning to other contexts and situations. In addition, higher level thinking and problem solving skills are believed to be developed (Billig, 2000; Eyler & Giles, 1999). Eyler (2002) claimed that knowledge and deep understanding are developed as a result of reflection as well as the capacity to effectively address new problems and issues. Conrad and Hedin (1987) reported personal or social development outcomes such as increased self-awareness, an enhanced sense of community and an improved sense of personal agency. Billig (2000) reported increased respect and tolerance for diversity, a sense of efficacy and improved relationships. With respect to civic engagement outcomes, Eyler and Giles (1999) reported that reflection enabled the development of new systemic perspectives, an openness to new ideas, and a commitment to solving social problems and social justice aims.

2.9.2.1 The guiding philosophy/ideology/framework

The more complex approaches to service-learning discussed previously (Kiely, 2005) provide some indication of how this range of transformations is brought about in students. Many authors cite a disorienting/disruptive/dissonant dilemma which results in uncertainty and disequilibrium in the student, requiring exploration of assumptions and alternatives in an effort to quell the doubt and regain equilibrium. What is largely ignored, even by those who provide detailed accounts, is a reflection on the guiding framework within which experiences or learnings are interpreted. Brookfield (2009) emphasised that critical reflection is a contested idea, and that the way in which it is used reflects the ideology of the user.

The ideology or predominant discourse determines who asks the questions and what kinds of questions are asked (LaDuke, 2004). Those who argue for more edgy, radical approaches are usually more explicit about the political framework and discourses that serve to construct student experiences in particular ways. In the main, this framework is often not made explicit. As Butin (2006) noted, “service-learning has positioned itself as a universalistic and thus neutral practice” (p. 486). Practitioners may not be consciously aware that the ‘neutral’ practices they are engaging are strategically promoting a particular ideological agenda (Butin, 2006).

Therefore, service-learning practitioners need to examine and explicate the frameworks they use to construct the critical reflection process. Currently, these ideological frames tend to remain unexamined. As Butin (2006) emphasised: “The point is not that service-learning should stop having an ideological agenda... Rather, it is that service-learning embodies a liberal agenda under the guise of universalistic garb” (p. 485).

In addition to foregrounding the ideological frame of the service-learning endeavour, it is critical to examine which voices are heard, which questions are allowed and which perspectives are validated through the critical reflection process. It is therefore important to reflect on who participates in this process and how the interactions are guided.

2.9.2.2 The participants in the critical reflection process

According to the normative standards for service-learning, in theory, there should be at least three voices that are heard in the critical reflection process: the voice of the student, the voice of the faculty/facilitator, and the voice of the community (Jacoby, 1998). As highlighted in the previous chapter, communities' voices are often not heard and community partners are often not included in the critical reflection process (Stoecker, 2016). Critical reflection may happen in a variety of contexts – between students and community members at the site, between and among students themselves, between the faculty member and the community and between the faculty member and the students. Although efforts are sometimes made to provide opportunities for community perspectives to be part of the critical reflection process, it is seldom that all three parties are in the same conversation at the same time (Preece, 2013). Often, community perspectives are brought to the critical reflection process either by the students or the faculty member, and as a result, these have already been diluted, processed or dissipated.

Given the lack of attention to communities' voices in the service-learning literature, the theorising about communities of practice (Gilbert, 1997; Lave & Wenger, 1991) offers some insights in this regard. Gilbert (1997) described a process of change agents joining with a focal community to create a new community of practice. He emphasised that we must recognise that both the change agent and the existing community enter the development process with existing practices and activities including tasks, goals, actions and tools. He warned against change agents imposing their perspective and in so doing alienating the focal community from traditional practices which served functional purposes. The other potential outcome is that with inappropriate engagement, the focal community rejects the change agents altogether and continues with practices which may not be in the interests of the common good.

Gilbert (1997) postulated that joint activity can lead to a new shared community of practice. Although the ideal of a new community of practice may seem idealistic given the inequities that persist in the real world, this model appears to mirror what is being attempted in service-learning initiatives where "learning partnerships between universities and

communities ... are deliberately shaped to make communities active participants in knowledge activities – in its creation, dissemination and utilisation” (Bawa, 2003, p. 48).

The following figure (Figure 2.7) is adapted from Gilbert (1997) and illustrates this notion of a new community of practice.

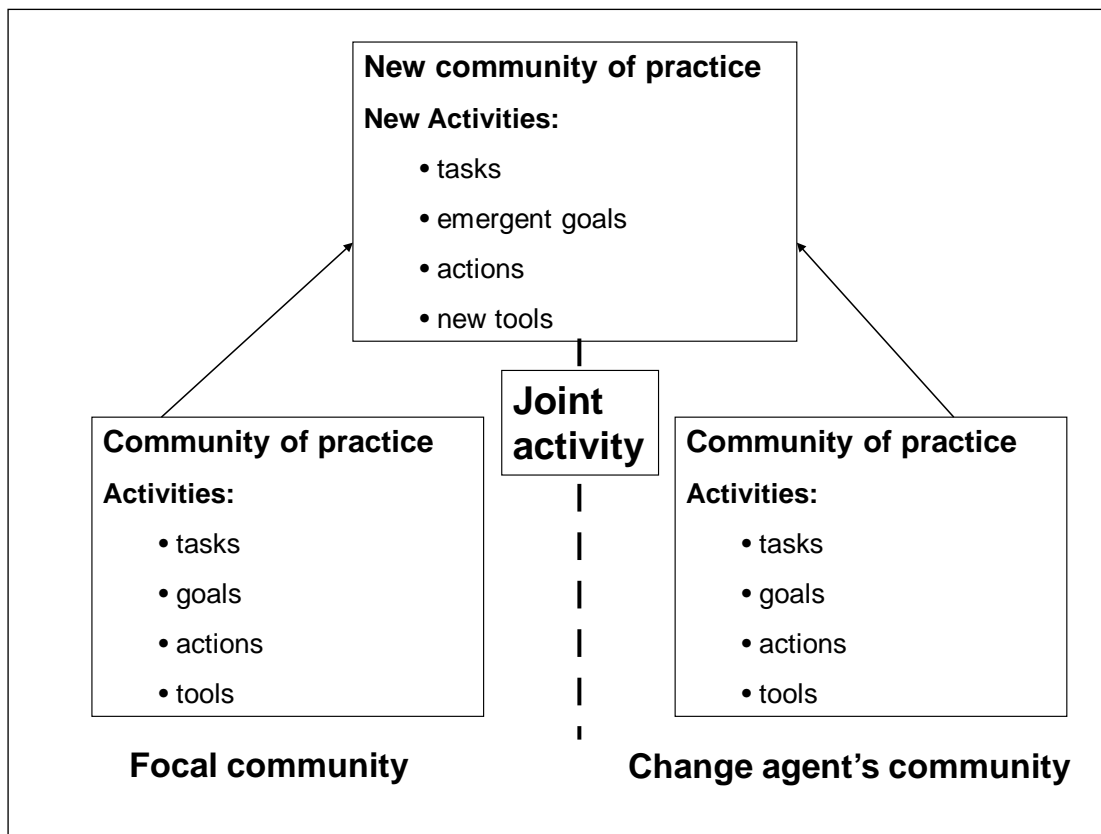


Figure 2.7: The development of a new community of practice.
(Adapted from Gilbert, 1997, p. 287)

In applying this perspective to service-learning and the critical reflection process, it seems that universities often believe that they are the change agents, and that faculty and students go into *the* community to effect change in the interests of the common good. The communities they engage with are therefore the focal community requiring the intervention. Alternatively, communities may believe that they are the change agents who make themselves available to the focal community (students) who require shaping through real world experiences and dilemmas. Communities perceive that they have an important role to play in preparing students for relevant engagement with life beyond the university's

protective shield, and for improving their employment prospects (Mitchell & Humphries, 2007). Further, communities engage with universities with the intention of shaping future curriculum decisions to ensure that graduates emerge appropriately informed and skilled (Mitchell & Humphries, 2007). The application of this model is, however, limited by the lack of communities' voices in the critical reflection processes, which is largely an academic exercise. These ideas are developed further below.

The facilitation of the critical reflection process determines which voices are included and validated and which perspectives are privileged. The claims about service-learning as a student-centred discovery-based approach are relevant here. For example, Ash and Clayton (2004) wrote about their "efforts to develop a rigorous, adaptable, *learner-centred approach* that both challenges and supports students in learning through reflection on experience" (p. 151; emphasis added). The critical reflection process may appear to be learner-centred in terms of the degree to which students are given freedom to direct their own learning and practice. Their actual agency and capacity to exercise their freedom may be disputed; this is explored below.

Hatcher, Bringle and Muthiah (2004) also noted that "specifically, reflection that is structured, regular and clarifies values *independently*, contributed to the quality of the educational experience for students" (p. 42; emphasis in original). This emphasis on independence, and therefore freedom to choose, may obscure what is actually taking place in the reflection process. In order to clarify values, the students must have a normative standard against which this evaluation is made. Who sets this normative standard, and how independent are students in choosing whether to clarify their values?

If service-learning is discovery-based learning, and students do indeed clarify values independently, an examination of the role of the facilitator in the critical reflection process is warranted.

2.9.2.3 The role of the facilitator

In critical reflection, the facilitator appears to be a guide towards a particular way of thinking. Mike Brown (2004) described how the facilitator is often presented as the benevolent guide where students are “apparently free to draw valid and meaningful conclusions from their own experiences” (p. 163). What is often overlooked is that the benevolent guide is not neutral and is approaching the reflection from a particular ideological perspective, one which prescribes which kind of meaningful conclusions can be drawn. Brown (2004) disputed the notion of a benevolent guide and provides evidence from his adventure education context of how the facilitator initiates reflection and consequently evaluates students’ responses.

With regard to initiating reflection, Brown (2004) claimed that the facilitator’s introduction and framing of the process constrained the range of responses students could make. He explained that by stipulating the boundaries of the discussion, the facilitator was ensuring that the students would provide the right answers, and indeed guiding the students to getting the answers right. In responding to students’ replies, Brown (2004) observed a process of evaluation and then formulation or paraphrasing of students’ responses into an appropriate response. He stated that this modification process allowed the student to avoid a negative evaluation or the disagreement of the facilitator, and attempted to provide a positive experience of the reflection/discussion. He thus observed an I-R-E (initiation-reply-evaluation) sequence that others have termed “the workhorse of direct instruction” (MacBeth, 2000, p. 37). His argument was that the use of the I-R-E sequence served to direct students towards the facilitator’s desired meaning.

Further, Brown (2004) argued that paraphrases and formulations permit the facilitator to “accept, reject or modify student contributions” (p. 169) and that students’ replies were shaped into the ‘right answer’ rather than exploring the student’s thinking. He therefore concluded that “the apparently student-centred talk in facilitation sessions does not mean that the student’s knowledge is necessarily valued” (Brown, 2004, p. 169). His questions in this regard are thought provoking:

Why is it that, as leaders, we consider it necessary to re-voice what a student has already said, other than to fix or change the meaning in some way? Why do we feel the need to call on students to answer a question of our choosing and then evaluate the appropriateness of their reply? Whose learning is favoured in these sessions and, more importantly, what is being learned? Are we engaging in word games in facilitation sessions or the enculturation of students into our world view? (Brown, 2004, p. 170)

Boud and Walker (1998) wrote that the most likely outcome of this process is compliance “in which participants go through the motions of reflection without revealing (sometimes even to themselves) what are the real learning issues” (p. 103). In their article, Boud and Walker (1998) described the ways in which reflection processes can result in negative outcomes, emphasising that we continuously operate from within a particular frame. This frame, which is constructed through a world we take as given, imposes normative processes on critical reflection, which determine the outcomes for students and faculty.

Billig et al. (1988) discussed the educational process - the questioning, the debates, the hints and disagreements - and arrived at a notion of ‘cued elicitation’ where “what is apparently elicited is often surreptitiously introduced, by gesture, assumption or implication, by the teacher” (Billig et al., 1988, p. 61). Mercer (2001) also referred to cued elicitation in his description of the various techniques teachers use to direct learning. He also described an I-R-F sequence (initiation-response-feedback) which mirrors Brown’s (2004) observations above. Mercer (2001) argued that the I-R-F sequence is the archetypal structure of classroom talk; in addition, he identified other techniques that teachers use. Whilst acknowledging that an utterance can perform more than one function, he stated that when teachers elicit knowledge from learners, they usually use direct elicitation (a straightforward request) or cued elicitation (a drawing out of the information they are seeking by providing visual and verbal hints and clues). In responding to what learners say, teachers can use confirmations (“yes, that’s right”), rejections (“no”), repetitions (to draw attention to a significant answer), reformulations (to offer a “tidied up” (Mercer, 2001, p. 247) version, more in line with the sought response), and elaborations or amplifications (expanding on a point to emphasise significance). In addition, to these devices to draw attention to important aspects of learning, teachers may use explanations and recapitulations. Mercer

(2001) also described how ‘we statements’ are used to signify common experience and shared knowledge to learners.

Drawing from these detailed analyses of educational talk in different contexts, facilitators of the critical reflection process therefore need to be aware of the ways in which they cue their students towards particular learning outcomes which they have deemed as ‘good’.

This exploration of the key mechanism in service-learning reveals that, even though the concept is disputed, it is widely used in a variety of educational and professional fields. Even though it is viewed as a beneficent practice, upon closer examination, it appears to be a device for coercing participants towards particular ideological or political goals. This is done through effective use of apparently neutral techniques like discussion, participation and sharing.

2.10 Chapter synopsis

This chapter has presented an overview of the field of service-learning with a particular focus on student outcomes and citizenship claims. Service-learning has sought theoretical alibis through Dewey to Mezirow and more recently has been viewed from critical post-modern perspectives. There has been a large body of practice and research in service-learning in the USA in the last thirty years. This is not the case in Africa, except in South Africa, where the initiative was driven by policy imperatives and donor funding. Despite the external drivers in South Africa, service-learning resonates with existing local practices due to activist histories and African philosophies. There is little evidence of community costs or benefits in the literature.

There is vast evidence documenting the outcomes of service-learning for students. The literature also highlights the diversity of models and approaches, with corresponding goals for student learning and/or transformation. There are recipes for good practice and exemplars are highlighted in research works.

Whilst acknowledging that the field of critical reflection is of special interest and detailed enquiry for many researchers in education and professional contexts, the focus of this chapter was rather on laying open to scrutiny what is considered an everyday practice. This problematisation has revealed that it is not a neutral endeavour, that there is always a frame which positions participants in certain ways, and that strategies and tactics are employed to try and convince participants that they have discovered something for themselves.

There is, however, limited critique within the field of this great body of 'counter-normative' work. Few voices seem to be 'troubling' service-learning discourses and practices. The fish are possibly not aware of the water in which they are swimming. This thesis attempts to 'trouble' this water, so that those of us who swim in it may become more aware of our taken-for-granted assumptions.

Chapter 3

Conceptual framework – a Foucauldian lens

Foucault has given us many helpful insights and analytic tools to help us remember that those things which we most take for granted in our society and educational spaces as utterly obvious, necessary, natural, normal, or inevitable are not necessarily so, but are rather the result of human decisions that could have been made otherwise. (Jardine, 2005, p. 9)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the work of Michel Foucault, providing an overview of his oeuvre and outlining some of the conceptual tools he provides. After detailing his conception of power, there is a particular focus on the notions of governmentality, pastoral power and the confessional.

The chapter then goes on to detail the applications of Foucauldian thinking in educational contexts. It considers Foucault's perspectives on educational practices more generally, before looking at applications of the notion of governmentality in education. These include insights from work-based learning, lifelong learning and legal education. Applications of pastoral power in higher educational settings are then elucidated, highlighting the lessons learned from teacher education, and health and physical education.

Finally, the chapter moves onto Foucauldian analyses of reflection, as critical reflection is a major focus of the current study. Reflection is problematised as a confessional technology, drawing from research on nurse training and other educational contexts.

3.2 Introducing Foucault

Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984) was a French post-modern, post-structuralist philosopher whose books, articles, lectures and interviews have sparked much controversy by challenging the Western philosophical tradition. Foucault referred to himself as an experimenter as opposed to a theorist (D. Taylor, 2011) and set about deconstructing the prevailing dualistic world view by providing a 'history of the present'. Through his work, he

tried to demonstrate that what is viewed as absolute and universal is frequently the product of historical development. His perspective opens up new possibilities of being, by revealing that current reality is not a given, and challenges us to think about how things might be different. Foucault's 'ontology of the present' involved investigating who we are today, and how that has been constructed by a) the forms of knowledge (discourses) that we have of ourselves; b) political forces and how we are controlled through disciplinary practices; or c) the relationships we have with ourselves (McHoul & Grace, 2002, p. viii). Foucault thus tried to alert us to the ways in which things could have been, and can be, otherwise. D. Taylor (2011), argued that "Foucault is specifically concerned with promoting change that counters domination and oppression, and fosters what he refers to as 'the work of freedom'" (p. 2).

Foucault's work has been broadly (some argue 'crudely') categorised in terms of three phases or foci: the archaeological, the genealogical and the ethical (Golder, 2007, p. 161). Archaeological investigations (of madness, medicine and the human sciences) involved an analysis of how a subject is constituted as an object of knowledge, that is, how the mad, the ill may be known. Foucault attempted to describe the discourses (or 'games of truth') which enabled particular ways of thinking about human beings as subjects. His genealogical approach shifted the analysis to study the power relations in these games of truth. He used the genealogical method to expose the techniques of power and forms of rationality that constitute the present, in order to "disrupt commonly held conceptions about events and practices" (Smart, 2002, p. 55). Finally, Foucault's ethical focus was concerned with the relations one has with oneself. By ethics, he was referring not to "formal moral codes of vice and virtue, good and bad, right and wrong, but to the more everyday, practical procedures, systems and regimes of injunction, prohibition, judgment through which human beings come to understand, and act upon their daily conduct" (Rose, 1999, p. xx). In other words, he was interested in how we govern ourselves.

Foucault engaged in critical studies of institutions in society (psychiatry, medicine, human sciences, prisons) in order to investigate subjectivity. He was primarily interested in the construction of the subject, that is, how human beings are made subjects and the way in which a human being turns her/himself into a subject. He wrote of two meanings of the

term *subject*, firstly, where one subjects oneself to another through control or dependence, and secondly, by subjecting oneself to self-examination and a conscience. For Foucault (1982) “both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to” (p. 781). Thus, the subject is both constituted and constitutes her/himself in the context of power relations.

3.3 Foucault’s conceptualisation of power practices/effects

Foucault conceptualised power as a *productive* force. He wrote that power needs to be considered as “a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 119). He believed that power was not something that was exercised from the exterior or possessed by an individual or group, but rather that was evident in the relations between people. His interest was in investigating the practices of power:

The exercise of power is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions. (Foucault, 1982, p. 789)

Because power is exercised and not possessed, it is *diverse* and is exercised differently in different contexts and with different effects. In addition, power is *dispersed*. Foucault (1990) asserted: “power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere,” (p. 93) and, “one is always ‘inside’ power, there is no ‘escaping’ it, there is no absolute outside where it is concerned” (1990, p. 94). Power is therefore omnipresent, existing between and within people and places; it is within us and acting on us. It is distributed throughout society and not concentrated in a central body (Gallagher, 2008).

Given the dispersed nature of power practices, Foucault proposed that we study it at its extremities, “where it installs itself and produces real effects” (1980d, p. 97). Thus, he says:

But in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and

attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives. (Foucault, 1980a, p. 39)

Critics have argued that this focus on the local effects of power ignores issues at the systemic level (Schutz, 2004). However, Foucault maintained that such multiple, local relations produce larger mechanisms of domination, as opposed to top-down disciplinary controls (Caughlan, 2005). Thus, in order to understand the power effects in broader society, we need to understand the micro-level instances and how they are coordinated to produce macro-level discourses and systems of domination. As Foucault explains:

One must rather conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been – and continue to be – invested, colonised, utilised, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. (Foucault, 1980d, p. 99)

Foucault also advised that we should not ask: “Who then has power and what has he in mind?” (Foucault, 1980d, p. 97). Rather than focussing on intentions, we should focus on the actual effects of power in people’s lives:

Let us not therefore ask why certain people want to dominate what they seek, what is their overall strategy. Let us ask, instead, how things work at the level of on-going subjugation, at the level of those continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviours, etc. (Foucault, 1980d, p. 97)

In discussing the exercise of power, Foucault emphasised the importance of freedom. He proposed that power could only be exercised “over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free” (1982, p. 780). In other words, the human subject needs to have various possible courses of action, including the freedom to act otherwise, as “there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight” (1982, p. 794). Foucault (1982) wrote:

In this game, freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power (at the same time, its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted, and also its permanent support, since without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination) (p. 790).

Foucault thus emphasised the centrality of freedom to the operations of power. He also differentiated between freedom and liberation and domination. He was primarily interested in the *practices* of freedom, in how subjects adopt strategies and tactics to free themselves from the constraints placed upon them by regimes of truth. This freedom is not about being left alone but about “re-making ourselves into what we would like to be: freedom *for*, not just freedom *from*” (May, 2011, p. 79, italics in original).

Mendieta (2011) pointed out that we make ourselves free by caring for ourselves, and relating to ourselves through others. For Foucault, the practice of freedom is about experimenting with possible transformations of ourselves; that, having the knowledge of how we have been made to be who we are, enables us to explore alternative ways of being. (May, 2011).

Resistance is thus part of the system of power relations (Caughlan, 2005), and Foucault suggested that if we want to understand the relations of power, “perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations” (Foucault, 1982, p. 780). There is no simple directional relation of power and resistance; rather they co-constitute each other, and any attempt to conduct the actions of another assumes the freedom to act otherwise. Thus, “the basis and permanent condition of existence of power is to be found in its perpetual relationship of provocation and struggle with freedom” (Smart, 2002, p.131).

3.3.1 Forms of power practices

Foucault differentiated between sovereign power and other forms of power. He proposed that, as the power of the sovereign diminished over time, other forms of power have come to play a role in directing the actions of subjects. Sovereign power was possessed by the ruler and was exercised through laws and edicts. The sovereign had the right to take life or let live; “sovereign power is a power which deduces. It is the right to take away not only life but wealth, services, labour and products” (C. Taylor, 2011, p. 41). As sovereign power became increasingly ineffective due to socio-political and economic changes, other forms of power rose to the fore. Foucault’s concepts of disciplinary power, biopower and

power/knowledge are discussed below; pastoral power – the focus of this study – is discussed in more depth following an overview of some of Foucault’s other conceptual tools.

3.3.1.1 *Disciplinary power*

Disciplinary power concerns the construction of individual subjects and does so through targeting bodies (Hoffman, 2011, p. 28). Disciplinary power strives to make the body “more obedient as it becomes more useful” (Foucault, 1979, p. 138). Foucault identified three major disciplinary techniques through which individuals can be known and classified: hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, and the examination. These techniques are very evident in many modern institutions, including education.

By *hierarchical observation* (the gaze), Foucault was referring to the way environments are constructed to render individuals visible, with the Panopticon (an architectural design by Jeremy Bentham) the ultimate expression of this process of subjection. The design of the Panopticon made it possible for an anonymous observer to constantly observe inmates. Foucault argued that this constant visibility structured their conduct (Hoffman, 2011). He proposed that the gaze is multi-directional, with individuals ultimately observing their own behaviour. This is “an inspecting gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 155).

Through *normalising judgement*, the visible subject is judged according to prescribed norms, where norms serve to identify behaviour as normal or abnormal. Through normalising judgement, disciplinary power punishes non-conformity and rewards ‘good’ conduct. These normalising practices are pervasive in society:

The workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro-penalty of time (latenesses, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body ('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency). (Foucault, 1979, p. 177)

The *examination* combines both hierarchical observation and normalising judgement “to effect a ‘normalising gaze’ through which individuals may be classified and judged” (Smart, 2002, p. 81). This disciplinary technique also involves the individual in documentation; through this mass of documents they are captured and fixed (Foucault, 1979, p. 189). Through the examination, individuals are classified and distributed and in so doing are made into cases.

3.3.1.2 *Bio-power*

Foucault used the term bio-power to describe a power over life (of both individuals and groups). Bio-power is concerned with administering the well-being of populations. Foucault (2007) explains that by bio-power, he means the mechanisms by which our biological human features became the object of scrutiny and strategy. Bio-power functions through norms which are dispersed throughout society and internalised by subjects. From a Foucauldian perspective, concerns about the age of the population, birth and death rates, neonatal morbidity, reproductive practices are all examples of the operation of the apparatus (‘dispositif’) of bio-power.

3.3.1.3 *Power/knowledge*

Foucault conceived of knowledge and power as mutually interdependent. Power and knowledge co-constitute each other:

[P]ower and knowledge directly imply one another ... there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (Foucault, 1979, p. 27)

Feder (2011) argued that questions are an important mechanism for constituting knowledge. Foucault was interested in what kinds of questions could be asked at any given time in history, and with what effect. Foucault used the term ‘power/knowledge’ to illuminate that what counts as truth or knowledge is constructed, not decreed from on high by an authority; rather, it is the kind of knowledge that is “‘recognised as true’, ‘known to be the case’” (Feder, 2011, p. 56). For Foucault:

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980c, p. 131)

Foucault differentiated between two types of intellectual – the universal and the specific. Traditionally, the role of revealing the truth has fallen to the universal intellectual, but Foucault argued that ordinary people have knowledge of their own circumstances. Thus, the universal intellectual, as bearer of theoretical and moral values, has been replaced by the specific intellectual who has specific localised knowledge (often a profession) and who participates in everyday struggles with the politics of truth. Those with disciplinary knowledge and those with local knowledge are stakeholders of truth. This truth “is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A ‘regime’ of truth” (Foucault, 1984, p. 74).

3.3.2 Analyses of power effects

The forms and characteristics of power outlined above provide some guidance as to how an analysis of power relations or effects may be conducted. Foucault (1982, p. 792) emphasised that one should consider:

1. *The system of differentiations* which permit one to act upon the actions of others, or which allow power relations to be brought into play (e.g. the law, status, differences in know-how). Therefore, “every relationship of power puts into operation differentiations which are at the same time its conditions and its results” (Foucault, 1982, p. 792).
2. *The types of objectives* pursued by those who act upon the actions of others, the functions of the differentiations (or relations of power).
3. *The means of bringing power relations into being*, or what specific techniques and practices actualise the power relations,
 whether power is exercised by the threat of arms, by the effects of the word, by means of economic disparities, by more-or-less complex means of control, by systems of surveillance, with or without archives, according to rules which

are or are not explicit, fixed or modifiable, with or without the technological means to put all these things into action. (Foucault, 1982, p. 792)

4. *The forms of institutionalisation*, that is, traditions, customs, and apparatuses which integrate the power practices.
5. *The degrees of rationalisation*, the forms of rationality, knowledge, discourses that describe the regime; the principles that substantiate the actions taken; the effectiveness of the instruments of power.

The analysis of power relations needs to proceed from a micro-level; “such an ascending analysis of power would in addition be able to reveal how mechanisms of power have been appropriated, transformed, colonised and extended by more general or global forms of domination” (Smart, 2002, p. 73). It should focus on *effects*, not possession or intention. Thus, “Foucault avoids the tedious psychologism inherent in attempts to explain power in terms of intentions, motives, aims, interests or obsessions” (McHoul & Grace, 2002, p. 89). Rather than focussing on the motivations of individuals, analysis should consider the complex processes through which subjects are constituted. Therefore, an analysis of power effects should focus on the kinds of subjects that are produced through these processes.

3.4 Other conceptual tools

I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I write for users, not readers. (Foucault, 1974, pp. 523-524)

Foucault’s style of criticism sought to trouble and disrupt current certainties, and he developed various tools which are useful for a Foucauldian analysis. Those relevant to the current study are discussed below.

Foucault used the term *apparatus* or ‘*dispositif*’ to refer to the network of structures and processes which are employed to maintain power relations. It is a tool for analysing multiple forces in contest. He explained:

What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific

statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. (Foucault, 1980b, p. 194)

Foucault further explained that an apparatus has a dominant strategic function and emerges in response to an “urgent need” (Foucault, 1980b, p. 195). This specific strategic response is rationalised over time and turned into a technology of power in other situations (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. 11). As Nicoll and Fejes (2009) explained, an apparatus is not put in place by any particular interest group, but is rather the outcome of the confluence of dispersed activities and ideas which then operate as a strategy.

Foucault advocated seeing situations not as given but as questionable through using *problematization*. A problematisation is “the ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices that make something enter into the play of true and false and constitute it as an object of thought” (Foucault, 1984, cited in Rabinow & Rose, 2003, pp. 12-13). Thus, he was interested in how systems of thought or knowledge practices define phenomena as problems. Using problematisation as an analytical device therefore involves transforming what is taken as given into an object worthy of interrogation and enquiring how it might have been different.

Foucault employed the term *population* to conceptualise the social body as a phenomenon constituted by biopolitics and understood in statistical terms. Smart (2002) explains: “Through statistical forms of representation, the phenomenon of population was shown to have its own regularities, for example birth and death rates, characteristic ailments, age profiles, social groupings, etc.” (p. 127). In contrast to the control of the masses through sovereign power, the political-statistical concept of population enabled the regulation of people through bio-power. The aim of this regulation was the welfare of the population, and not the preservation of the rule of the sovereign. Population is the target of governmentality, which is concerned with how people are governed both through practices of government and through practices of the self.

The issue of *governmentality* emerged in Foucault's work during the late 1970s, where he focussed on the "problematic of government", or how people are governed in modern societies (Smart, 2002, p. xiv). The term governmentality stems from the French word *gouvernemental*, which means 'concerning government', where government refers to both techniques of rule and practices of the self (Bröckling, Krasmann & Lemke, 2011). Many of "Foucault's studies of madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality and subjectivity" are increasingly being read in the light of this notion of 'governmentality' (Smart, 2002, p. xiv). Foucault differentiated between a notion of government which is based on sovereign power (i.e. a king ruling over his territory and subjects through law), to the "art of government", or "the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed" (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). In this context, government is the "the conduct of conduct"² and refers to the ways in which human beings are made subjects.

Governmentality can be understood as "the whole range of practices that constitute, define, organise and instrumentalise the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other" (Foucault, 2000, p. 300). Governmentality is concerned with both the conduct of the population, and how we conduct ourselves. In everyday life, conduct is managed by experts in various institutions (e.g. the family, medical personnel, psychologists, marketers), who have authority as a result of their expertise and which is accorded the status of truth. Foucault wrote:

Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word ... is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which impose coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself. (Foucault, 1997, pp. 181-182)

Governmentality thus both individualises and totalises. Individualisation is concerned with how the individual comes to know her/himself and his/her place in society (the construction of the individual subject) and takes responsibility for governing her/himself; on the other hand, totalisation concerns the control of the population of individual subjects and the regulatory power of the state. An analysis of governmentality therefore considers the

² This term can be found in the original French: "conduire des conduites" in *Dits et écrits IV* (p. 237) by M. Foucault, 1994, Paris, Gallimard.

exercise of power relations associated with the centralised state, as well as the practices involved in self-government. In this context, there is a subtle interplay between the coercive power of the state and the subject's power over the self (Gallagher, 2008), what Rose (1999) called a 'government through freedom'. This kind of government:

multiplies the points at which a citizen has to play his or her part in the processes that govern him. And, in doing so, it also multiplies the points at which citizens are able to refuse, contest, challenge those demands placed upon them. (Rose, 1999: xxiii)

Dean (2010) explained that an analysis of governmentality involves examining those practices "that try to shape, sculpt, mobilise and work through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups" (p. 20). Governmentality thus presupposes subjects who are free to choose to respond in a variety of ways, and it attempts to mould these choices to secure the ends of government.

Technologies of the self are the techniques which individuals bring to bear on themselves when they interact with the norms/practices imposed by the prevailing regime of truth.

Foucault explained that technologies of the self are the:

techniques which permit individuals to perform, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct, and this in such a way that they transform themselves. (Foucault, 1997, p. 181)

Dean (2010) explained that the government of the self involves four aspects (pp. 26-27):

1. Ontology – which concerns *what* it is that is to be governed (e.g. the soul, the flesh, the use of pleasure)
2. Ascetics – concerns *how* the governing takes place (e.g. through confession, through exercise, through disciplinary techniques)
3. Deontology – concerns the mode of subjectification, or *who* we are when we are governed in such a manner (e.g. one subject to the weakness of the flesh, a recipient of welfare support)
4. Teleology – concerns *why* we are governed, the goals sought, what kind of world we wish to create or what we hope to become through this process.

Torok (2010) emphasised that the technologies of the self are “designed to achieve voluntary self-control with minimal force or domination” (p. 48). Choice is thus central in this process of self-subjectification, and Dean (2010) pointed out that these practices can be used to resist forms of government or engage in counter-conduct. Governmentality thus involves a complex interplay of truth games, technologies of government, and technologies of the self. It is in the context of governmentality that Foucault introduced the concept of *pastoral power*.

3.5 Pastoral power

Foucault proposed that governmentality is exercised through a variety of mechanisms, one of which is pastoral power. This form of power stems from Judeo/Christian traditions and is concerned with the relationship of the shepherd and the flock. It is through the care of others that they are dominated, by instilling in them the need to care for themselves. The specific features of pastoral power are, firstly, that it is power over a flock on the move; it is therefore not power over a defined territory. Secondly, it is a beneficent power – Foucault emphasised “... pastoral power is, I think, entirely defined by its beneficence; its only *raison d’être* is doing good, and in order to do good” (Foucault, 2007, p. 172). He elaborated on this beneficent power: “Pastoral power is a power of care. It looks after the flock, it looks after the individuals of the flock, it sees to it that the sheep do not suffer, it goes in search of those that have strayed off course, and it treats those that are injured” (Foucault, 2007, p.172). Thirdly, the office of the shepherd/pastor is a duty. Foucault (2007) explains that this power initially manifests itself in “zeal, devotion and endless application” (p.172) and not in a show of strength or superiority. Lastly, pastoral power is an individualising power in that the shepherd cares for each and every single sheep as well as for the entire flock. This raises what Foucault referred to as “the paradox of the shepherd: the sacrifice of one for all, and the sacrifice of all for one” (Foucault, 2007, p. 174).

In addition to the characteristics outlined above, Foucault (2007) emphasised that Christianity added four specific principles to the character of pastoral power. Firstly, there is the principle of analytical responsibility, where the pastor is responsible for each sheep and the entire flock. He must account for “every act of each of his sheep, for everything that

may have happened between them, and everything good and evil they may have done at any time" (Foucault, 2007, p. 227). Secondly, the principle of "exhaustive and instantaneous transfer" means that every act of every sheep is the pastor's responsibility, and if the shepherd fails, the sheep are harmed. Foucault (2007) explained:

When anything good happens to a sheep, the pastor will have to experience it as his own good. The pastor will also have to consider an evil that happens to a sheep, or which occurs through or because of a sheep, as an evil that is happening to him or that he has done himself. He must take delight in the good of the sheep with a particular and personal joy, and grieve or repent for the evil due to his sheep. (p. 227)

The third principle is of *sacrificial reversal*, whereby the shepherd must be willing to sacrifice himself to save his sheep. Lastly, in terms of the principle of *alternate correspondence* the shepherd earns his merit by struggling with a disobedient flock, and whilst the shepherd must as far as possible be a good example to his flock, he should not be completely virtuous lest he is not able to teach the flock through his mistakes. For Foucault:

It is good, then, for the pastor to have imperfections, to know them, and not to hide them hypocritically from his faithful. It is good that he repents of them explicitly and is humbled by them, so as to maintain himself in a self-abasement that will edify the faithful, just as carefully hiding his own frailties would produce a scandal. (Foucault, 2007, p. 229)

Foucault (1982) explained that in the context of the Christian church, pastoral power:

1. [I]s a form of power whose ultimate aim is to assure individual salvation in the next world.
2. Pastoral power is not merely a form of power which commands; it must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock. Therefore, it is different from royal power, which demands a sacrifice from its subjects to save the throne.
3. It is a form of power which does not look after just the whole community but each individual in particular, during his entire life.
4. Finally, this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it. (p. 783)

As pastoral power spread from religious contexts to the wider social body, these characteristics were transformed. There were now a number of officials of pastoral power (e.g. state officials, police, welfare workers, teachers, doctors, psychologists), not just religious leaders who guide individuals towards salvation in this world, but others who were concerned with “health, well-being (that is, sufficient wealth, standard of living), security, protection against accidents” (Foucault, 1982, p. 784). The spread of the agents and aims of pastoral power enabled the development of knowledge of both the individual (and the process of individualisation) and the global (concerning the population).

Pastoral power is analogous to the complex reciprocal relationship of the shepherd and the flock and revolves around salvation, obedience and truth. The shepherd is responsible for his flock and accountable, not only for their actions but also for their thoughts and attitudes. The duty of the shepherd is the salvation of the flock – even to the point of self-sacrifice. The shepherd therefore guides and protects his flock in order to ensure their well-being. He maintains a vigilant surveillance over each individual and the whole flock, as he will have to account for them. The flock in turn is required to submit to the guidance of the shepherd, to whom they owe total obedience. This individualised submission to the shepherd is necessary to arrive at a state of obedience. In terms of the problem of truth, the shepherd needs to teach the flock, through the examination of their conscience (spiritual direction), the truth about themselves. Thus, Foucault argued:

[The pastorate is] a prelude to governmentality through ... through the constitution of a specific subject, of a subject whose merits are analytically identified, who is subjected ... in continuous networks of obedience, and who is subjectified through the compulsory extraction of truth. (Foucault, 2007, pp. 239-240)

Foucault (2007) expanded on the importance of ‘pure obedience’ and explained that this relationship of subordination has three implications: Firstly, it is a relationship of submission of one individual to another. Secondly, the goal of this relationship is the “mortification of one’s will” (p. 234), that is, there is no goal other than obedience. Thirdly, in terms of the problem of truth, the pastor must teach the flock the truth, both through leading by example and through direction. This direction takes two different forms: Firstly, the direction of daily conduct, where “[t]he pastor must really take charge of and observe daily

life in order to form a never-ending knowledge of the behaviour and conduct of the members of the flock he supervises" (p. 236); and secondly, spiritual direction, in that "[t]he pastor must not simply teach the truth. He must direct the conscience" (p. 237). This direction of the conscience is not to ensure self-mastery, but is a means of fixing the relationship of subordination to the pastor and for the person to be subjected to the truth about him- or herself. The effect of this is the intensification of the individualisation process (Savioa, 2012).

In the process of individualisation, the human being becomes more aware of him/herself through examination of conscience, attitude and soul, comparing him/herself to the norms of truth to which s/he has been exposed and the truth about the self which becomes apparent in this process. In this, way the obedient subject is constituted.

Through pastoral power, Foucault therefore described a model of power that is "well suited for shaping the self-conduct of individuals" (Caughlan, 2005, p. 15). The pastor exercises jurisdiction over the actions and consciences of the flock to guide them towards salvation. The flock in turn owe the pastor "a kind of exhaustive, total, and permanent relationship of individual obedience" (Foucault, 2007, pp. 238 - 239).

As explained above, power exists in a continuous relationship with resistance, and so pastoral power needs to be considered in the context of practices of resistance. Foucault explained resistance as counter-conduct, human subjects wanting to escape direction by others and choose their own mode of conduct. He asked: "By whom do we consent to be directed or conducted? How do we want to be conducted? Towards what do we want to be led?" (Foucault, 2007, p. 264). In the context of pastoral power, the forms of resistance "tend to redistribute, reverse, nullify, and partially or totally discredit pastoral power in the systems of salvation, obedience, and truth" (Foucault, 2007, p. 271). Historically, these forms of resistance to the pastorate were: (a) asceticism; (b) formation of communities; (c) mysticism; (d) return to Scripture; and (e) eschatological beliefs (Foucault, 2007). Importantly, resistance was from within the pastorate and attempted to disrupt the governance of the pastorate.

An analysis of power relations therefore should involve a study of resistance. Foucault (1982) explained that forms of resistance have the following in common:

1. They are not confined to one country or form of government.
2. They target the effects of power on people's lives.
3. They are immediate in that they focus on the instances of power closest to them, local exercises of power, and the power effects in their present experience, not at some future date.
4. They struggle against the process of individualisation and the construction of an identity imposed through government.
5. They are "struggles against the privileges of knowledge" (p. 781) which are linked with power, competence and qualification
6. They are a struggle around the question of "Who are we?" (p. 781), refusing to be defined by abstractions or other apparatus.

3.6 Confession(al)

The relationship of submission and obedience that characterises pastoral power highlights the importance of the technology of confession. Indeed, the shepherd needs to know the minds of the flock, and confession is central to the workings of these power relations. In his *History of Sexuality* (1990), Foucault wrote:

The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile; a ritual in which the truth is corroborated by the obstacles and resistances it has had to surmount in order to be formulated; and finally, a ritual in which the expression alone, independently of its external consequences, produces intrinsic modifications in the person who articulates it: it exonerates, redeems, and purifies him; it unburdens him of his wrongs, liberates him, and promises him salvation. (Foucault, 1990, pp. 61-62)

Foucault went on to explain that the key to the extraction of truth through the confessional is the intimacy of the relationship between the penitent and the listener. Devas (2004)

argued that, within the confessional relationship, the listener has the authority which allows them to insist on the confession, decide on the limits and boundaries of that which is confessed, and to decide what constitutes truth.

The importance of confession is its usefulness as a technology of individualisation: “The truthful confession was inscribed at the heart of the procedures of individualisation by power” (Foucault, 1990, p. 58). Through confession, individuals are actively involved in self-governance – they are obligated to tell the truth about themselves and act upon that truth.

Foucault explained:

The obligation to confess is now relayed through so many points, is deeply ingrained in us, that we no longer perceive it as an effect of a power that constrains us: on the contrary, it seems to us that truth, lodged in our most secret nature, ‘demands’ only to surface. (Foucault, 1990, p. 60)

Thus, confession serves as a technology to engage individuals in defining themselves in accordance with social norms (subjection), in the guise of a liberatory practice, which helps us to unlock the truth about ourselves.

The preceding sections have introduced Foucault’s theory and some of his conceptual tools, with a special focus on pastoral power. The application of the notion of pastoral power in higher education settings is considered next. There is a return to the confessional later in the chapter.

3.7 Applications of Foucault’s notion of pastoral power in educational settings

3.7.1 A brief introduction to Foucault on education

Although none of Foucault’s studies were directed to the institution of education, he did make many comments about educational processes and schooling, which serve to make questionable the familiar and obvious. Foucault’s observations about educational practices emphasise how schooling has altered over time to achieve particular ends, not least of which is ensuring the construction of subjects with certain values and perspectives that are valued by the state.

Deacon (2006) provided a theoretical overview of Foucault on education and highlights his usefulness in providing an historical account of the rise of the school and the 'moral orthopaedics' of schooling. In understanding schooling as moral orthopaedics, Foucault (in Deacon, 2006) described the changes in the approach to education over time. Initially, the teaching relationship was characterised by a one-on-one teacher-pupil relationship. This was replaced by a monitorial method where more advanced pupils were tutored by teachers and in turn tutored other pupils. The monitorial method was then replaced by the simultaneous method of group instruction by one teacher (Deacon, 2006). These new methods involved a "'micro-disciplinarisation' of schooling" (Deacon, 2006, p. 181). Foucault wrote about the educational context:

Take, for example, an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organised there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character – all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication-power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy). (Foucault, 1982, p. 787)

Foucault argued that the practice of teaching is characterised by "a defined and regulated relation of surveillance which acts to improve its efficiency" (Deacon, 2006, p. 184), which is not reducible to domination. Foucault was careful to point out the difference between his notion of power, which is dynamic and productive, and a state of domination, where the power relations are fixed and there is little margin for freedom (Foucault, 1987). He was concerned with how to avoid the effects of domination in the pedagogical relationship. He reminds us: "Power is not an evil. Power is strategic games" (Foucault, 1987, p. 129) and goes on to argue:

I don't see where evil is in the practice of someone who, in a given game of truth, knowing more than another, tells him what he must do, teaches him, transmits knowledge to him, communicates skills to him. The problem is rather to know how you are to avoid in these practices – where power cannot not play and where it is not evil in itself – the effects of domination which will make a child subject to the arbitrary and useless authority of a teacher, or put

a student under the power of an abusively authoritarian professor, and so forth. (Foucault, 1987, p. 129)

Foucault (1971) explored this issue further when he contrasted the two educational forms of the traditional lecture and the seminar. Whilst the seminar format may appear to be more open and egalitarian, he argues that it is less 'honest' than the lecture. The lecture system, with a professor behind his desk and no opportunities for student discussion has, what he calls,

[a] crude honesty, provided it states what it is: not the proclamation of a truth, but the tentative result of some work which has its hypotheses, methods and which therefore can appeal for criticism and objections: the student is free to uncover its blunders. (Foucault, 1971, pp. 199-200)

In contrast, the seminar, with its apparent respect for freedom, is far more dangerous:

[B]ut don't you think that a professor who takes charge of students at the beginning of the year, makes them work in small groups, invites them to enter his own work, shares with them his own problem and methods – don't you think that students coming out of this seminar will be even more twisted than if they had simply attended a series of lectures? Will they not tend to consider as acquired, natural, evident and absolutely true what is after all only the system, the code and the grid of the professor? Isn't there the risk that the professor feeds them with ideas much more insidiously? (Foucault, 1971, p. 199)

Fejes (2008b) pointed out that educational researchers only began to use Foucault's ideas more extensively in the late 1980s and early 1990s and have in the main focused on the disciplinary technologies elucidated in Foucault's *Discipline and punish*, or drawn on his notions of power and knowledge. Critics of the use of Foucauldian theory for educational research take issue with his refusal to adopt a value-position, and his lack of emancipatory alternatives (Woermann, 2012). They argued that his focus on power (and his changing notions of power) may obfuscate other important factors that need to be challenged in educational institutions. In addition, Foucault's refusal of the notion of an objective truth makes any claims of an advancement towards truth through educational research, farcical as one is merely substituting one regime of truth for another (Woermann, 2012).

Despite these critiques, Fejes (2008b) argued for the usefulness of Foucault's notion of governmentality in educational research, saying "analyses of how governing is being

conducted today through educational practices are important as a way of understanding how power operates and flows through the social body” (Fejes, 2008b, p. 18). This is explored further below.

3.7.2 Governmentality and education

Studies of education using a governmentality lens are fairly recent. This conceptual lens is applied in a variety of ways in a variety of contexts, with varying degrees of success. The sections that follow trace the use of a governmentality perspective from the level of educational policy, through issues of empowerment and participation in education. The focus then shifts to how different subjects are constructed in various educational contexts, before addressing studies of pastoral power in the higher education sector.

Simons and Masschelein (2006) wrote that it was only during the 1990s that studies of governmentality started to be applied to educational topics. These studies range from analyses of classroom management, to teacher identity, to the knowledge economy (see Simons & Masschelein, 2006, for more detail about the variety of studies). Simons and Masschelein (2006) emphasised that studies of governmentality “indicate how educational practice and educational theory (and science) have played and do play a constitutive role in practices of subjectivation which are crucial to our ‘learning societies’” (p. 423). In exploring governmentality and education, Popkewitz and Brennan (1997) problematised the notion of ‘learning’, and argued that it “embodies a range of values, priorities, and dispositions about how one should ‘see’ and ‘act’ in the world” (p. 294). They posited that educational institutions play a crucial role in the development of new forms of governmentality.

Educational institutions can therefore be considered instruments of governmentality, involved in the production of different kinds of subjects. As educational policy often embodies the imperative for developments and changes in the educational landscape, it is a useful starting point for examining how good citizens are constructed through education.

3.7.2.1 *Aspects of the dispositif: Policy imperatives and the production of responsabilised subjects*

Miller and Rose's (1990) paper is helpful because it problematised the notion of policy (generally) and highlighted its constituted nature:

[T]he concept of government implies that the very existence of a field of concerns termed 'policy' should itself be treated as something to be explained. It draws attention to the fundamental role that knowledges play in rendering aspects of existence thinkable and calculable, and amenable to deliberated and planful initiatives. (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 3)

Miller and Rose's study draws attention to the instrumental role of policies as "explicit programmes for reforming reality" (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 4), the existence of which indicate an optimism that society "could be administered better or more effectively, that reality is, in some way or other, programmable" (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 4). In an educational context then, policy tries to ensure that difficulties that are encountered with the population are addressed by tweaking the apparatus to achieve better outcomes (subjects).

Simons and Masschelein (2008) argued the learning apparatus can be mobilised to address policy challenges. They used the term the 'responsibilisation' of learning in discussing self-directed learning, emphasising that in this context, learners are constructed as responsible for their own learning (and by implication, any failure to learn). They argued that these discourses are part of a learning apparatus where instruction is regarded as facilitation and stimulation of an appropriate learning environment, and learning, is a process that should be managed, in the first instance by the learners themselves (Simons & Masschelein, 2008). This, together with the notion that active citizenship is something that can be learned (and should therefore be supported by government), constructs subjects that are responsible for their own well-being, "as well as the well-being of the collective" (Simons & Masschelein, 2008, p. 405).

Similarly, Miller and Rose (1990) stressed the importance of enrolling individuals as allies, and referred to a process of 'translation' where actors perceive their fates as being "bound up with one another" (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 10). They used Callon and Latour's (1981, cited

in Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 4) term 'interessement' to explain how these allies are constructed, not through mutual interest, but rather through "persuasion, intrigue, calculation or rhetoric" (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 4).

Jayne Bye (2010) examined this translation process at a micro (capillary) level. She explored the way in which young people are governed through education by examining the teaching practices at a college in Australia. She postulated that adult learning/college education is an effective mechanism to assist "young people in becoming 'the good citizen', a second chance for the governmental ends of schooling to be achieved" (Bye, 2010, p. 3). Bye (2010) described how the college is both a product of, and implicated in, the process of translation, whereby government becomes possible through political rationalities being linked with "programmes, technologies, practices and people" (p. 3). Her observations of classroom practices revealed numerous attempts to build alliances between the teacher and students, and the students and the curriculum.

In one classroom, Bye observed an educator 'Harry', who she claimed used a warm demeanour to create a welcoming environment. She remarked that he "seems genuinely happy to be in the classroom and this sets a positive tone" and that his "interactions with students are respectful and personal" (Bye, 2010, p. 8). His students' individuality was valued and he had knowledge of their personal circumstances which he used to connect with them, whilst disclosing details of his own personal life. She described it thus:

Harry models a respectful, non-antagonistic adult figure which elicits a positive response in the students. Their views are sought and listened to. Harry is the facilitator and he does a lot of the talking but there is an exchange and in these moments ... there is genuine exchange of ideas. This classroom is a place where you might be stimulated to talk and listen with real interest. Harry's classroom functions to form an alliance based on goodwill. (Bye, 2010, p. 8)

Bye (2010) claimed that the alliances she observed being established through classroom practices make translation possible, in that these practices entice students to cooperate with educational objectives and to start to self-govern. She believed that the use of adult learning principles in these classrooms operated "as a powerful shaper of conduct,

particularly in the areas of self-regulation, self-direction and responsabilisation” (2010, p. 12).

In her investigation of Australian educational policy, Linda Graham (2007) described the governing processes that attempt to construct the ideal citizen through the generation of power/knowledge that is “cloaked in benevolence and inordinately difficult to resist” (Graham, 2007, p. 202). She argued that “central to the success of this ‘art of governing’ is the production of the citizen who believes they are free” (Graham, 2007, p. 204). However, she concluded that this freedom is a “chimera of choice”, as “both our freedom and capacity to ‘choose’ has already been delimited by factors outside our control” (Graham, 2007, p. 205).

Policy as a programme for reforming reality can therefore be used to assist in the construction of subjects who are responsible for their own learning, and the well-being of others. This subject not only believes that s/he is free to make choices but is also caught in processes that s/he finds difficult to resist. Strategies of participation and empowerment in education are therefore important to explore.

3.7.2.2 Aspects of the dispositif: Educational strategies of participation and empowerment

Participatory approaches in education claim to empower individuals and liberate them from oppressive educational practices. Using a governmentality perspective, Masschelein and Quaghebeur (2005) claimed that participation can rather be understood as generating a particular kind of individuality (subjectivation) and specific practices of freedom, which are learned. The discourses and practices of participation constitute a regime of truth that is prescriptive – strongly encouraging students and teachers to engage in participation as a means of realising their freedom. Whilst prescribing a certain way of being for the individual, participation is positioned as a “neutral instrument” (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005, p. 60) which offers “a possibility or an option for the subject to become free, to become one’s own master, to rid oneself of external government of one’s identity and to become empowered” (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005, p. 56). Masschelein and Quaghebeur (2005) emphasised that the key to this governmental process is persuasion,

citing Rose (1996, p. 73): “not through the fear produced by threats but through the tensions generated in the discrepancy between how life is and how much better one thinks it could be.”

The notion of empowerment was problematised further by Ellsworth (1989) and Gore (1990), who both found themselves caught up in the circularity of being part of the apparatus they wished to challenge and change. Their experiences highlight the ubiquitous nature of governmentality, the paradox of ‘government through freedom’ (Rose, 1999).

In her article ‘Why doesn’t this feel empowering?’, Elizabeth Ellsworth (1989) argued that critical pedagogical concepts and practices like “‘empowerment,’ ‘student voice,’ ‘dialogue’ and even the term ‘critical’ – are repressive myths that perpetuate relations of domination” (p. 298). She described the radical educator as one who attempts to help students recognise injustice and empower them to act against oppression, whilst at the same time transforming her understanding in response to her students. Her experience in running an anti-racism class demonstrated the impossibility of neutralising oppression in classroom practices. She wrote: “Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change” (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 310).

She argued that critical pedagogues have “failed to launch any meaningful analysis of or programme for reformulating the institutionalised power imbalances between themselves and their students, or of the essentially paternalistic project of education itself” (1989, p. 306). In addition she contended that “[s]trategies such as student empowerment and dialogue give the illusion of equality while in fact leaving the authoritarian nature of the teacher/student relationship intact” (1989, p. 306). In some instances, the authoritarianism of education is acknowledged as inevitable, but tolerable, provided the ends justify the means. In other words, “emancipatory authority” (p. 307) is acceptable as this is not a “misuse of authority” (p. 307).

In considering the centrality of dialogue for empowerment, Ellsworth (1989) explained that dialogue assumes that participants are unified and have equal opportunity to speak, but this

notion “fails to confront dynamics of subordination present among classroom participants and within classroom participants in the form of multiple and contradictory subject positions” (p. 315). She said that “[w]hat they/we say, to whom, in what context, depending on the energy they/we have for the struggle on a particular day, is the result of conscious and unconscious assessments of the power relations and safety of the situation” (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 313). Ellsworth (1989) found that creating a safer space for dialogue required developing relationships of trust with individuals and that these were achieved in part through “social interactions outside of class – potlucks, field trips, participation in rallies and other gatherings” (p. 316).

Jennifer Gore (1990) used a Foucauldian lens to reflect on critical and feminist pedagogy practices and found herself in a similar dilemma. Her main concerns centred on perceptions of power and agency. When the teacher is positioned as ‘empower-er’, this implies an omnipotent agentic position, where the teacher is able to share her power or give it away. “To **em**-power suggests that power can be given, provided, controlled, held, conferred, taken away” (Gore, 1990, p. 9). Gore (1990) contended that empowerment discourses set up an agent (teacher) who empowers others (students), resulting in distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’. She argued that when the focus is on others we may neglect to examine our own role in the conditions we seek to change:

In attempts to empower others we need to acknowledge that our agency has limits, that we might ‘get it wrong’ in assuming we know what would be empowering for others, and that no matter what our aims or how we go about ‘empowering’, our efforts will be partial and inconsistent. (Gore, 1990, p. 15)

In the end, Gore (1990) concluded that empowerment is better conceptualised as “the exercise of power in an attempt (that might not be successful) to help others to exercise power” (1990, p. 10). Gore (1990) tended to focus on the discourses of empowerment and not actual practices, and her conclusions do little to guide those who would wish to avoid the errors she highlighted. Her recommendation was that researchers pay more attention to the *contexts* in which empowerment is attempted. She said “(i)t may be helpful to think of social actors negotiating actions within particular contexts” (1990, p. 13). Some specific educational contexts are explored in the next section.

3.7.2.3 The operation of the dispositif in educational contexts

The governmentality lens has been used to analyse educational practices in a variety of settings. The insights gained from examinations of work-based learning, lifelong learning, and legal education are presented below and highlight the kinds of subjects that each learning apparatus is trying to construct.

Work based learning (the seduction of the worker)

Zembylas (2006) used a Foucauldian lens to explore work-based learning as a new governmentality. He contended that, in the context of the need to view higher education as an industry, discourses prevail which seduce the worker through empowerment. These discourses, whilst purported to be in the interests of reform, “all too often are uttered to justify problematic practices” (Zembylas, 2006, p. 292). Whilst some authors may argue that work-based learning serves to dispute the monopoly of traditional disciplinary knowledge (by promoting the legitimacy of learning at work), a Foucauldian approach highlights the panoptic nature of this learning, with issues of power and discipline both requiring examination.

Zembylas (2006) claimed that workers are often caught up in normalising processes of subjectification. He emphasised that his interest in these processes is not in compliance, which implies a lack of freedom, but in how individuals, as active subjects, engaged in work-based learning self-regulate. He wrote, “self-regulation is not about compliance. Compliance suggests passivity, coercion and imposition – my interest is in varied self-regulatory practices that embody multiple subject positions, including resistant ones” (Zembylas, 2006, p. 294). Although Zembylas (2006) advocated that those engaged in work-based learning should critically examine the discourses and practices that they use to govern themselves, and construct new ways to position themselves, he did not account for the fact that, in the context of governmentality, individuals are always engaged in a process of subjectification and thus would be exchanging one form of self-regulation for another.

Lifelong learning (the construction of a ‘will to learn’)

Researchers in the field of lifelong learning have investigated how lifelong learning is an apparatus for the production of subjects with a will to learn. Fejes and colleagues (see Fejes & Nicoll, 2008, and Nicoll & Fejes, 2009, for more on this) have used Foucault's notion of governmentality to explore how discourses around lifelong learning serve to 'condemn' learners "to a never-ending life of learning" (Biesta, 2008, p. 196), where in addition to a *duty* to learn, they are also responsible for their own learning (the responsabilisation of learning). In exploring the kinds of subjectivities created through lifelong learning, Zackrisson and Assarsson (2008) pointed out that the normalising tendencies of power may also produce "disobedient and unpredictable" individuals who, although they participate in education may not necessarily "become interested, prone to change, independent and well behaved" (p. 123). These authors' observations highlighted the unintended effects of power relations and the capacity for resistance that always co-exists with power.

Edwards (2008) argued that "as a regime of truth, lifelong learning may need to be decentred in order that we can look again at the meanings it has and the work it does" (p. 32). Using a Foucauldian approach to the analysis of power means that we need to acknowledge that "we are always operating within fields of power/knowledge" (Biesta, 2008, p. 199) and that our analysis does not necessarily lead to a "more true understanding of how power works – it only tries to unsettle what is taken-for-granted" (Biesta, 2008, p. 200). Biesta (2008) therefore argued that a Foucauldian approach offers a "different kind of emancipation" (p. 202), as it opens up the possibility of other ways of being and doing. With regard to lifelong learning, Nicoll and Fejes (2009) recommended that instead of engaging in battles over truth, researchers try to "bring out how lifelong learning comes to be persuasive and powerful, and how narrations that we come to take as 'certain' might be countered by inserting alternatives within relations of power" (p. 7).

Legal education (the construction of a legal identity)

Matthew Ball (2012) brought a governmentality perspective to bear on critical legal scholarship, contending that power relations in legal education have not been reflected on effectively. He unpacked the dangerous assumptions underlying pedagogical legal scholarship. Ball (2012) explained that legal education practices that have the intention of

doing good to students are assumed to be neutral and beneficent and approaching best practice. From a Foucauldian perspective, Ball (2012) posited that assumptions of neutrality and beneficence and progress are problematic as they gloss over the impacts of power relations. Ball (2007) explored the construction of legal identity in students (as skilled legal professionals or as ethical lawyer-citizens). He concluded that critical legal educators who wish to liberate students from 'ideological indoctrination' into corporate or pro-business legal practice often overlook the power relations inherent in their own teaching practices and technologies (Ball, 2007).

One of the ways in which governmentality is operationalised is through the use of pastoral power. The section that follows therefore considers studies of pastoral power that have been conducted in the higher education sector.

3.8 Pastoral power in higher education

Foucault predicted that universities will become increasingly important politically, because they multiply and reinforce the power-effects of an expanding stratum of intellectuals and, not least, as a result of new global demands for active, multi-skilled and self-regulated citizens. (Deacon, 2006, p.184)

Howley and Hartnett (1992) analysed pastoral power in the university and argued that higher education institutions are primarily concerned with the improvement (rather than the containment, as in the schooling system) of their students. They wrote that universities "assume a pastoral position as a means to confer salvation on their students" (p. 271) and that they seek voluntary compliance in this exercise. According to Howley and Hartnett (1992), "[a]s it mediates the scope of individuals' potential to act, pastoral power limits the field of their actions to those that will – in terms defined by the state – be good for each individual" (p. 272). They argued that pastoral power sets up the conditions whereby individuals, driven by a desire to be normal, will make the choices that lead to their improvement.

Howley and Hartnett (1992) pointed out that the contemporary university is dependent on the state for its sustenance and credibility, and thus serves the state through supporting

state rationalities, by producing individuals who will strengthen the state. They contended that to analyse the mechanisms of power at work in the university, one must examine how “the relations of capillary power are embedded within local educational practices and technologies, just as the confession is embedded within religious and clinical settings” (p. 275). They cited practices such as: the use of the ‘canon’ (which is the standard against which forms of knowledge are measured); the induction of the novice scholar; and the evaluation of faculty, as technologies of government which utilise pastoral power.

Barrow (1999) similarly questioned whether higher education is an instrument of emancipation or subjection. He stated that whilst institutions may claim to encourage “processes of critical reflection, leading the student to ultimate emancipation and autonomy through a search for truth”, the student is subject to the “pastoral power of the institution (with a complex mix of coercion and freedom to act)” (Barrow, 1999, p. 2). This pastoral power drives a particular model of transformation (and normalisation) in students where, “inculcated with the rules of their discipline, the student attains a salvation and enlightenment in an act of transformation that is primarily a personal one” (Barrow, 1999, p. 4). He said that, as a form of governance, higher education plays an important role in persuading the individual to act in a manner which the individual believes is good for them, but which ultimately meets the needs of the state.

Barrow (1999) contended that, through the control of knowledge, space, time, assessment and examination, higher education institutions encourage the development of technologies of the self in students which they use to transform themselves, by acting on their “bodies, souls, thoughts and conduct” (p. 11). Barrow argued:

Unlike physical domination, pastoral power enables some actions while at the same time precluding others. Whilst individuals are to all intents and purposes free to act, the institution guides and counsels them, encouraging them to act in a way that is ‘good’ for them. The operation of this power requires an interplay of coercion in the practices of domination and freedom to act, in order to gain the voluntary compliance of the student. (Barrow, 1999, p. 9)

Lest we forget the dynamic productive nature of power, and the co-constitutive relationship between power and resistance, Foucault reminds us that students are not puppets in this

process. “However, as soon as they enter the system, students understand that they are being played with, that someone is trying to turn them against their true origins and surroundings; there follows a political awareness, and the revolutionary explosion” or, stated even more dramatically, “the enemy is within the gates” (Foucault, 1971, p. 195).

Explorations of the operation of pastoral power in particular disciplines in higher education are limited, but some studies have been conducted in teacher education and health and physical education.

3.8.1 Teacher education

Tsolidis and Pollard (2007) considered the role of pastoral power in constructing teacher identities. They expressed concern that students who want to become teachers to do good and make a difference in their students’ lives are set up in binary opposition to market-orientated teachers. In addition, they reflected that these philanthropic desires may be a non-reflexive expression of pastoral power, where teachers know best and students are ignorant. Although their study draws on pastoral power in a limited way, Tsolidis and Pollard (2007) emphasised the productive possibilities of pastoral power to construct multiple subjectivities, where teachers can foreground the effects of power relations and develop more responsive practices. They thus suggested an “ethical redeployment” of pastoral power (p. 57).

3.8.2 Health and physical education

The work of Louise McCuaig and her colleagues (McCuaig, 2007; McCuaig 2012; McCuaig, Öhman & Wright, 2011; McCuaig & Tinning, 2010) involved a more thorough exploration of pastoral power in health and physical education (HPE) teaching. McCuaig (2007) reflected on her own teaching practice and how she developed alternative ways of viewing what is generally accepted uncritically as caring, responsive teaching. She problematised schooling and teaching, arguing that the role of the pastoral teacher is to “maximise mass schooling’s capacity to shape the consciences of apprentice citizens” (McCuaig, 2012, p. 865). McCuaig (2007) described the pastoral teacher as one who incorporates the “sympathetic demeanours of both the spiritual guide and the caring parent” (p. 288). McCuaig (2012)

therefore proposed that “[c]are envisaged as pastoral power does moral and ethical work on behalf of the state” (pp. 871-872).

Regarding the operation of pastoral power in the classroom, McCuaig et al. (2011) reported on a study involving the analysis of video data of interactions during HPE classes in Sweden. They described how, through policy and other directives, HPE teachers (positioned as “unobtrusive guides” (McCuaig et al., 2011, p. 6) to their students) were incited to construct learning environments that enabled close student-teacher relationships which increased the probability of student revelations (McCuaig et al., 2011, p. 6). These revelations provided access to the conscience of the student and opportunities to shape it accordingly. In addition, in order to inspire trust in their students, teachers were urged to be “models of good practice” (McCuaig et al., 2011, p. 7). McCuaig et al. (2011) argued that HPE teachers use a range of normalisation techniques to entice their students into being healthy active citizens, whilst simultaneously identifying those who deviate from this norm.

The strategies they observed being utilised in the lessons included: building a sense of togetherness and caring, encouraging and inspiring students to participate, and constructing exercise as a pleasurable experience. With regard to building a sense of *togetherness and caring*, McCuaig et al. (2011) reported that the teachers use the pronoun ‘we’ to suggest a shared relationship and goals, and to develop a sense of a collective (us). They proposed that this process simultaneously exposes and excludes those who did not wish to participate. They argued that togetherness and caring are an effective strategy not only for encouraging the reluctant to participate and open up, but also in developing self-governance in their students – by establishing a goal and ensuring the students are motivated to want to achieve it.

Through *encouraging* certain actions, the HPE teacher confirms what is desirable and correct. This then indicates to other students what is valued and *inspires* them to follow suit. McCuaig et al. (2011) reported the use of phrases such as “‘well done’, ‘excellent’ and ‘you are very talented’” (p. 10) that reinforce ‘correct’ behaviour. They also pointed out that “expressions such as ‘I am very proud of you’ and ‘being a teacher is so enjoyable’ created

familial-like relationships of caring” (McCuaig et al., p.10). They argued that it would take considerable agency on the part of the student to resist such an offer of caring.

McCuaig et al. (2011) highlighted the role of normalisation in these classrooms and the associated feelings of shame if the student fell short of the norm:

There is considerable affective value in doing what is right and being acknowledged as a good person in the eyes of the teacher and possibly the class. There is also the affective loading of what happens if you don’t do this – what is at risk – being a bad person and most importantly, disappointing the teacher. (McCuaig et al., 2011, p. 11)

The last strategy observed in the video analysis (McCuaig et al., 2011), involved making an association between participation in activities (in this case, physical exercise) and fun and *pleasure*. Through all of these techniques, the HPE students were therefore encouraged to internalise the norm of being good healthy, active citizens, to engage in self-surveillance and self-problematisation in relation to this norm and, in so doing, move towards self-governance. Students that chose to resist these processes, or were excluded through refusing to participate (the lost sheep), became a cause for increased attention: “Instead of discarding or ignoring problematic students, such deviations call upon the HPE/PEH teacher to care more fervently, to employ more intense and individualised strategies of togetherness, encouragement, familiarity and surveillance” (McCuaig et al., 2011, p. 15).

The researchers therefore argued that, whilst there is nothing wrong with a caring approach to teaching, social practices that appear beyond reproach should be scrutinised as “[t]he more open the game, the more attractive and fascinating it is” (Foucault, 1987, p. 131)

McCuaig and Tinning (2010) explored the role of confessional practices in HPE as strategies for facilitating governance. Through pastoral power, individuals are constituted in relationships of subjection to an external party, where the technique of confession plays a central role. In the context of the HPE class, the teacher is constructed as the expert other who is able to offer guidance and credible knowledge. Students are expected to reveal (confess) their thoughts and feelings. McCuaig (2007) wrote: “Pedagogical strategies such as

role play and personal journal keeping, which encourage young people to confess their hidden 'risky' feelings, express them, dissect them and ultimately control them, undoubtedly relate to those technologies of which Foucault is most suspicious" (p. 285).

McCuaig and Tinning (2010) emphasised that certain conditions need to be met to create the trusting relationship which facilitates the process of confession. They highlighted the importance of credibility, which is usually established through professional training and expertise. They also emphasised the importance of a sustained and intimate relationship between the teacher and student, and that the teacher should be a model of good practice. In this manner, HPE teachers were able to gain access to the conscience of their students. As a result, "HPE 'classrooms' function as modern-day confessional spaces where teachers deploy appropriate knowledges and techniques to extract students' confessions, interpret their meaning, diagnose inner truths and devise suitable interventions for self-improvement" (McCuaig & Tinning, 2010, p. 54).

The concept of confessional spaces and the role of reflection as modern-day confession are explored further in the next section, which problematises reflection.

3.9 Troubling critical reflection with Foucault

As an apparatus, the elements of critical reflection include the context, the participants, the discussion practices and the products. Stephen Brookfield provided some interesting ideas about these elements from his examination of his own practices as an adult educator.

The context

The circle is often used for critical reflection discussions as it is considered to a mechanism for encouraging equality and promoting sharing in the classroom. That is, there is no teacher standing behind a podium and lecturing to a passive audience. Brookfield (2001, p. 8) stated: "The circle is so sacred and reified in adult education as to be an unchallengeable sign of practitioners' democratic purity and learner centeredness". From a Foucauldian perspective, however, the circle could be considered a tool for heightened surveillance, where the students are subjected to the intense scrutiny of their peers and the facilitator.

There is nowhere to hide in a circle formation, such that a lack of participation or an incorrect contribution is obvious to the observers. It follows then, that, as Brookfield (2001, p. 9) stated “the circle can be a painful and humiliating experience”.

Discussion practices

Brookfield (2001) also argued that there are normative practices in discussion which determine what constitutes good discussion: everyone speaks intelligently, has equal opportunity to participate and focusses on the topic at hand. Often the facilitator is the enforcer of the norm and the judge of whether the students are performing to the norm, and students work hard in participation to exemplify this norm. Brookfield (2001) provided a provocative account of the means facilitators use to approve or disapprove of participants' contributions to discussion:

[T]hrough nods, frowns, eye contact (or the lack of it), sighs of frustration or pity, grunts of agreement, disbelieving intakes of breath at the obvious stupidity of a particular comment, and a wide range of other gestures, discussion leaders communicate to the group when they are close to, or moving away from, the norm. (Brookfield, 2001, p. 22)

Brookfield (2005) provided further food for thought in his writing about authenticity and power, where he demonstrated how, what are perceived as authentic teaching practices are actually exercises of power. He described how many students seek a teacher who is both an authority (credible) and an ally (authentic – open and honest, trustworthy), and that these two positions are often in conflict or contradictory. He emphasised the importance of congruence, and pointed out different teacher positions which decry this value:

- *Spuriously democratic teachers* – tell students that the curriculum and assessments are open to negotiation, whilst those that are democratically chosen “just happen to match the teacher’s own preferences” (Brookfield, 2005, p. 7).
- *Falsely participatory teachers* – inform students that they will use methods that require active participation, and then proceed to dominate by lecturing most of the time.
- *Counterfeit critical thinkers* – claim to welcome questions and different approaches but then “bristle when this encouragement is applied to their own ideas and make it clear that certain viewpoints (often those the teacher dislikes) are out of bounds” (Brookfield, 2005, p. 7).

- *Practicing phony responsiveness* – by claiming to respect student views and then not responding to any concerns students raise.

To avoid falling into any of these positions, Brookfield (2005) espoused: *full disclosure*, where you make known your assumptions and agendas; *responsiveness*, by demonstrating to students that you want to know about their learning and by discussing with students how your own learning is affected; and *personhood*, by allowing aspects of your life and experience to be revealed in the classroom.

Brookfield (2005) emphasised that authenticity also means acknowledging the power practices that the teacher has at her disposal but asks: “How do we exercise power in an ethical and responsible manner while being authentic?” (p. 11). From a more radical perspective, Ian Baptiste (2008) wrote of ethical coercion. He argued strongly that educators can never claim neutrality, and advocated against “educational niceness” (p. 6) which is based on the false assumption that it is possible for educators to share their views with others without imposing their perspectives. He argued that manipulation is sometimes justified and it is the educator’s responsibility to research how to improve their manipulative capacities (Baptiste, 2000). He described as naïve those educators who do not recognise their power and claim neutrality, saying “in a myriad of unconscious, unintentional and tacit ways, educators impose their will on students – sometimes to the benefit of students, sometimes to their injury” (Baptiste, 2008, p. 13).

Baptiste (2008) therefore proposed a typology of educational imposition. He used the dimensions of palatability and beneficence to construct this. For his purposes, palatability meant that which is comfortable and easy to accept and requires little effort. Relative beneficence related to how the imposition impacts on the person’s capacity to improve human well-being.

Table 3.1
A typology of educational imposition

	Beneficial effects	Harmful effects
Palatable	Nurturance (Non-coercive)	Placation (Non-coercive)
Unpalatable	Challenge (Coercive)	Plunder (Coercive)

(Baptiste, 2008, p. 18)

- *Nurturance* is both palatable and beneficial; examples include responding to students' requests for assistance, providing appropriate materials, etc.
- *Placation* occurs when educators display palatable but potentially harmful behaviours towards students (e.g. praising them for poorly executed work).
- *Challenge* is beneficial but may be unpalatable, for example, questioning students' erroneous assumptions, or interrogating their ideas.
- *Plunder* disregards the well-being of the students engaged in the activity. It is 'challenge gone wrong', where participants in the learning process are abusive and display disregard for each other.

Whilst acknowledging the false binaries in this matrix, Baptiste (2008) argued that it is an improvement over other perspectives, which only view imposition as negative and harmful. He concluded that educational niceness is "a deluding phantom – a salacious seduction which might make educators popular with students, and leave them feeling good about themselves, but, which, in the end, might turn out to be the unwitting handmaiden of oppressive hegemony" (Baptiste, 2008, p. 26).

Whilst these Foucauldian perspectives are useful to alert us to the dangers of taken-for-granted practices, what appears to be absent in the writings of both Brookfield and Baptiste is Foucault's notion of resistance. Despite appropriating Foucault's notion of power as dynamic and interactional, Baptiste (2008) did not factor resistance into his ethical coercion model. He considered only the educator's imposition on students, not the ways in which they may resist this. Brookfield (2001; 2005) acknowledged that power and resistance co-

constitute each other, but unfortunately did not expand on how resistance manifested in the context of his classes. He provided evidence for the exercise of power by the facilitator in adult education, but did not unpack resistance to the same degree. He offered the notion of resistance as the hope in Foucault's writings, but did not demonstrate that hope in action.

The products

Brookfield's (2001) Foucauldian reflection on his experiences as an adult educator are relevant for service-learning, given the many shared techniques and practices. He stated that the extreme points of the exercise of power are found in specific practices "dialogic circles, learning journals, self-directed learning contracts, and so on – claimed to be distinctive to the field" (Brookfield, 2001, p. 3). These are many of the tools and products used in service-learning. He also reflected on how these seemingly egalitarian practices are actually techniques for self-governance. This argument is taken up in the next section which views critical reflection from the perspective of the confessional.

3.9.1 A governmentality perspective: Reflection as confession in the context of pastoral power

In addition to Brookfield and Baptiste, various other authors have problematised reflection from a Foucauldian perspective (Besley, 2005; Cotton, 2001; Fejes, 2008a; 2011; Gilbert, 2001; Macfarlane & Gourlay, 2009; Rolfe & Gardner, 2006). These authors have expressed concerns about the hegemony surrounding reflection as a good and positive activity, where little attention is paid to the fact that reflection activities demand that the private is made public, and in so doing, become technologies of the self. The potential dangers of such practices for individuals are largely ignored:

In asserting the respective benefits of reflective practice and clinical supervision, these practices are beginning to achieve a status where they move beyond question. ... A consequence of this hegemony is that the debate has become sterile. Criticism is limited to comparisons between the efficacy of differing mechanisms of reflection or supervision. (Gilbert, 2001, pp. 199-200)

3.9.1.1 Reflection practices in nursing

From the field of nursing, Cotton (2001) highlighted the ambiguity of the term reflection and how different definitions position individuals differently. She argued that, despite the lack of conceptual clarity, the predominant discourse about reflection and reflective practice is that it is good and helpful and assists professionals to develop into good practitioners. She emphasised that “scant attention is paid in the literature to the negative aspects of reflection” (Cotton, 2001, p. 516) and cautioned that demands for reflection may constitute nurses as “productive, docile, conforming workers ... who think in the way that the institution wants them to” (Cotton, 2001, p. 514).

Cotton (2001) (like Brookfield) highlighted the fact that the micro-technologies of reflection (e.g. debriefing, supervision, reflective journals, logs or diaries) ensure that the private thoughts of individuals are brought into the public domain and subjected to scrutiny and judgement. Thus, reflection is understood as a confessional technology of the self, “a form of truth telling that constitutes the self” (Besley, 2005, p. 365).

Gilbert (2001) examined reflective practice and clinical supervision in nursing, arguing that they are forms of government which aim to produce nursing practitioners who are capable of self-regulation. He described these practices as “lighter touch” surveillance techniques where individuals are incited to tell the truth about themselves (Gilbert, 2001, p. 201).

Gilbert (2001) warned that the impression of emancipation, through encouraging reflective practice and the development of autonomy in nurses, is merely the “exchange of one form of subjectivity for another, as both are equally the products of the effects of power” (p. 202). Gilbert (2001) pointed out that discourses about empowering individuals assume the existence of disempowered subjects who are trapped by tradition and rules. These damaged subjects require intervention and remediation through reflection.

Rolfe and Gardner (2006) attempted to address the concerns regarding the repressive role of reflection by differentiating between epistemological reflection and ontological reflection. They argued that epistemological reflection focusses on conscious thought, whilst ontological reflection concerns ways of being. Ontological reflection thus focusses on

the person of the practitioner who is guided by another in a process of developing awareness of the self. Epistemological reflection, they contended, is more concerned with practice knowledge and cognition, and not with confessions of shortcomings to a supervisor. They therefore proposed that ontological reflection is more prone to “normalisation of thought” (p. 597), and to prescribing acceptable ways of being. Epistemological reflection, on the other hand, focuses on meta-cognitive processes and aims to assist the practitioner with improving his/her practice. These distinctions between these two forms of reflection seem spurious, especially with respect to how reflection works in practice. The role of the other in the process of epistemological reflection is not sufficiently problematised to argue that the process does not try to produce certain subjectivities – meta-cognitive processes are, after all, ways of knowing which prescribe ways of being. Fejes (2011) also questioned this distinction, querying whether it is possible to separate the person from the actions of that person.

3.9.1.2 Reflection practices in educational contexts

Proponents of reflection in educational and workplace contexts tend to overlook the role of the practice in positioning students/practitioners as self-governing subjects. The term reflection presumes that there is an active subject whose behaviour can be modified (Fejes, 2011). Discourses of reflection dictate that this subject should be reflective and self-regulating.

Macfarlane and Gourlay (2009) used the analogy of a reality TV show to elucidate the ‘game’ of reflection that students are expected to engage in. They argued that reflective writing can be prone to inauthenticity as students learn which hoops to jump through to pass a course or satisfy lecturer requirements. They warned that the outputs of the game of reflection may be exercises in self-justification of conformity. They also expressed the concern that the reflection game may be tantamount to the “colonisation of the private self” (p. 458), or “control through self-regulation” (p. 458):

What is implicitly rewarded is initial fragility, tentativeness and penitence, followed by uncritical adherence to some deeply flawed and outdated rules of thumb. The forced enactment of this can result in a grotesque simulacrum (sic) of authenticity in response to a powerful normative regime of

surveillance, at root unconcerned with individual or context. The details may vary - but the 'journey' has to reach the 'right' destination, via the correct stages ... Only then is the 'transformation' complete. (Macfarlane & Gourlay, 2009, p. 458)

Foucauldian critiques highlight the role of reflection in making the private public. "By reflecting about oneself with others, we make visible our inner desires as an object of knowledge production, contributing to the subjectification of ourselves" Fejes (2008a, p. 660). Macfarlane and Gourlay (2009), above, outlined the stages required of the participant in the reflection game, which move from penitence through to conversion and conformity. Besley (2005) also emphasised the importance of acknowledging one's faults to attain forgiveness through the reflection process.

The role of the other (real or virtual) in this process of confession is highly ambiguous due to the many roles the other may occupy: "witness, accomplice, recipient, mediator, judge and enabler" (Besley, 2005, p. 370). Cotton (2001) referred to a "coach", "guide", "reflective participant" or "critical friend" (p. 516). Fejes (2011) explained the virtual other is always present and therefore an expert other eventually is no longer essential as the individual internalises the norms for evaluating their actions.

Like Cotton (2001), Fejes (2011) problematised reflective practices as practices of confession. He scrutinised learning conversations, log books and reflection as individualising technologies. In learning conversations the individual is encouraged to share (confess) their knowledge and experiences with others and in so doing make him/herself visible for scrutiny. Fejes (2011) explained:

[B]y making the confession public, the participant is internalising the norm at the same time as she/he is positioning her/himself as a 'good' example of how to behave. Thus work is being done upon the self and upon others—a conduct of conduct. Drawing on a governmentality perspective inspired by Foucault, here, subjectivity is not determined but rather elicited, fostered and shaped. (Fejes, 2011, p. 806)

Log-books are private journals where the individual does not confess to others, the journal instead facilitates self-scrutiny in relation to an internalised norm (a virtual other). Fejes (2011) suggested that "[w]riting the log-book is about writing the self – of becoming a new

and improved self” (p. 807). Lastly, Fejes (2011) argued that encouraging reflection as an everyday practice is about shaping reflective subjects who continuously work on improving themselves.

Fejes (2011) proposed that, through the process of reflection, subjects are shaped in a context of freedom to make choices to improve themselves; they are “invited to work upon the self to become that which is desirable” (p. 810). Consequently, “a new subject is being shaped, one who is not only responsible for desiring to become better and better, but also the one who supports her/himself in such an enterprise” (Fejes, 2011, p. 809).

Siebert and Walsh (2013) examined the potentially problematic role of reflective practice in work-based learning. They argued that reflection can be understood as an exercise in self-discipline which brings one’s behaviour in line with being governed (Siebert & Walsh, 2013). They also queried the authenticity of the reflection process, pointing out that it would take a “bold student” (Siebert & Walsh, 2013, p. 107) to expose an alternative set of beliefs to scrutiny and evaluation in the context of reflection. To those who would argue that reflection provides an opportunity for students to voice their perspectives, they debated whose voice is actually heard through this process, as students feel that they need to present a certain image of themselves – and that the subjects construct themselves in the form of the preferred image (Siebert & Walsh, 2013).

Devas (2004) was also cautious about reflection and tools designed to promote reflective practice, which she claimed are technologies of surveillance which apparently encourage student development but which exist to produce docile, self-managing subjects. Thus, for Devas:

Reflection is a process by which the student subjects her/himself to a microdynamics of power which they bring to bear upon her/himself; it is a process which begins long before they enter the university, but which is re-encountered and reinforced by practices of reflection which they are increasingly being encouraged to adopt. (Devas, 2004, p. 44)

This exploration of the key mechanism in service-learning reveals that, even though the concept is disputed, it is widely used in a variety of educational and professional fields.

However, even though it is viewed as a beneficent practice, upon closer examination it appears to be a device for coercing participants towards particular ideological or political goals. This is done through effective use of apparently neutral techniques like discussion, participation and sharing. From a governmentality perspective, reflection can be viewed as a technique of the self, where through internalising the other, the student subjects herself to scrutiny and self-governance, always aiming to achieved the desired norm. From the perspective of pastoral power, reflection can be viewed as confession – making the private available for public scrutiny, appraisal and judgement, requesting absolution, and shaping oneself into the desirable subject.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced Michel Foucault and his understandings of power and other conceptual tools. Foucault provides us with strategies which allow us to scrutinise taken-for-granted, everyday practices and to ask: How might this have been different? His notion of pastoral power takes us beyond being able to separate ourselves from the operations of power, as one may be inclined to do with disciplinary power and biopower. Those notions of power are framed in such a way that we may almost feel comfortable to stand alongside that which is being observed (e.g. an examination, an inoculation campaign) and ‘see’ it for what it is. Pastoral power does not allow this delusion of objectivity; it highlights how we are all implicated in the exercise of power, in our relationships, in our attempts to persuade, in our teaching, in our efforts to succeed at work. We are part of the apparatus that establishes the discourses and the possible subjectivities that emerge from them. Foucault emphasises the beneficence of pastoral power; hence, it is not surprising that it is evident in the most ‘caring’ contexts in education, where intimate relationships are established between participants.

In addition, this chapter presented an argument for a Foucauldian perspective of critical reflection, drawing on research from other contexts to propose that reflection is a form of governmentality, and in particular, part of the confessional in the context of pastoral power.

The lessons learned from these other contexts will now be applied to service-learning, in an attempt to illustrate how service-learning may be viewed as one of many apparatuses for governmentality. It is important at all stages to keep in mind that Foucault viewed power as a *productive* force, and to try to lessen our instinctual response that talk of power implies its abuse and consequent oppression. Following an exploration of service-learning as an apparatus of governmentality, Foucault's approach to understanding the practices of pastoral power is utilised to analyse the interactions in service-learning critical reflection sessions.

Chapter 4

A Foucauldian perspective on service-learning

4.1 Introduction

As per Michel Foucault's wishes, this chapter rummages through his tool-box and uses his conceptual tools to try to provide a lens through which service-learning can be viewed. The intention of this chapter is not to proclaim anything good or bad, but rather to re-look at our everyday practices and ask how they can be otherwise. In addition, this chapter does not aim to provide *the answer*; Foucault would argue that that is not possible. Instead, I am interested in what questions can be asked and with what effect. The objective of this chapter therefore is to make explicit our service-learning discourses and practices, in order that we may have new insights and perhaps adjust our strategies. Critical for this exposition is the notion that we are always operating within a field of power/knowledge and can never be outside of it, that is, "there is no absolute outside" (Foucault, 1990, p. 94).

Other authors (Gilbride-Brown, 2011) have employed Foucault to reflect on aspects of the service-learning endeavour as a "transformative regime of truth" (Olson, 2015, p. 42), or as located within the governmentality of the university (Preece, 2016). There does not seem to be any analysis of service-learning as a regime of truth (barring Butin, below), or as a *dispositif*. This is attempted below.

4.2 Service-learning as a regime of truth

Foucault (1980c) pointed out that each social formation has its own regime of truth, its own politics of truth, and notions of what counts as true. Dan Butin is one of the few service-learning researchers who has employed a Foucauldian perspective; he pointed out that "service learning, as any other educational reform model, has its own blind spots, its own unacknowledged and unexamined assumptions, and its own impositional narratives" (2006, p. 1). If liberatory practices often impose their own regime of truth (as Foucault claimed), there is a need to examine more closely what is happening in service-learning.

Foucault's explanation of a regime of truth (1980c, p. 131) is useful in determining whether service-learning may be considered in this manner. As a reminder, this is repeated below:

Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980c, p. 131)

The discourses evident in the service-learning literature have to do with transformation, mutual benefit, partnerships, egalitarian approaches, and community empowerment. As was highlighted in the literature review, different factions within service-learning privilege certain discourses, with gentler approaches speaking of citizenship and learning outcomes for students, and more radical approaches calling for activism and student transformation. As is evident in the literature review, there is a service-learning vocabulary full of terms that practitioners in the field participate in and create. Researchers' talk of civic engagement, social justice, critical reflection, reciprocal relationships, and stages of learning, which all construct a form of 'truth' about service-learning. There is talk of different forms of knowledges, local knowledge and disciplinary knowledge (i.e. stemming from a particular academic discipline), which each have their own power/knowledge nexuses. Once again, depending on the approach favoured, these differing forms of power/knowledge are privileged or subjugated.

Contrary to its claims of counter-normativity, Butin (2010) argued that there is a strong normative framework in service-learning, which allows practitioners to privilege particular models and goals. There are prescriptions on more or less effective ways to do service-learning, there are step-by-step guides of how to design a course, there are comparisons of different types of service-learning and service-learning research, with some regarded as better than others, and there are exemplars and best practices. These are all sanctions, techniques, part of the apparatus of service-learning as a regime of truth. There are 'experts' in the field who pronounce the truth of service-learning, and are revered and respected (professors, pioneers, winners of awards). Thus, ironically, the operations of the power/knowledge nexus are apparent in this egalitarian educational endeavour. In addition,

there are international associations and conferences where participants receive recognition and acclaim, and participate in creating and re-creating this regime of truth. There are prizes for emerging scholars and for those who have contributed the most in the field (see <http://www.researchslce.org/>).

As a regime of truth, service-learning also has various elements and networks of structures and processes which constitute an apparatus that is employed to direct and maintain power practices. The section below explicates three elements of this ensemble: policy, notions of participation and empowerment, and critical reflection.

4.3 Service-learning as an apparatus

Foucault explained that an apparatus usually emerges in response to an urgent need and serves a strategic function. Stanton and Erasmus (2013) compared the emergence and operation of service-learning in the USA and South Africa. Stanton noted that, in the USA, service-learning emerged as a grassroots activist movement in favour of educational reform to ensure higher education institutions “thr(ew) open their windows” to their communities (Stanton, Giles & Cruz, 1999, p. 132). This bottom-up movement has subsequently been supported by government initiatives and corporate funding. Erasmus noted the importance of SA government policy in driving a community engagement agenda (Stanton & Erasmus, 2013). This policy imperative is discussed below.

4.3.1 Policy imperatives

Miller and Rose (1990) highlighted the function of policy as a programme for reforming reality. They highlighted that policies are evidence of the belief that reality can be directed differently and more effectively. The DOE White Paper 3 (1997) outlined “A Programme for Higher Education Transformation”, which offered the optimistic perspective that higher education institutions can, and should, contribute to the reconstruction of South African society through community service programmes. It is important to consider the context of this policy, which was published soon after the first democratic election, and in the light of the ANC’s reconstruction and development programme. The White Paper highlighted the problematic context the apartheid years created and emphasised the ‘urgent need’ for

reconstructing “domestic social and economic relations to eradicate and redress [the] inequitable patterns of ownership, wealth, and social and economic practices” (DOE, 1997, p. 9). As an instrument of social reform, higher education institutions were further tasked with producing students who are socially responsible and aware.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the role of this policy in trying to develop a society that is different to that which existed prior to 1994 is clear. The arguments for action are convincing, drawing on notions of injustice, inequality, and disparity to highlight the urgent need for reform. The policy even outlines the mechanisms for enacting this change – through community service programmes and the production of certain kinds of students. Following the development of the policy, more structures were put in place to ensure the implementation of the policy. The Council for Higher Education and the Higher Education Quality Committee created criteria for institutions to demonstrate their compliance with the policy imperative.

An addition to the ensemble, in South Africa, was the creation of the CHESP initiative which sought to assist with the implementation of the mandate in higher education. CHESP’s power/knowledge nexus was strengthened by state and overseas donor funding, access to US academics/faculty and service-learning resources, and persons of influence in South African education. Through offering grants and immersion training (for selected universities), CHESP provided incentives for already committed individuals to strengthen their activism in the field of community engagement. As a governmentality project, CHESP promoted a particular model of community engagement, through service-learning in the context of a community-higher education-service partner arrangement (Stanton & Erasmus, 2013). Although this model did not suit all contexts and forms of community engagement (Mitchell & Humphries, 2007), compliance was encouraged through reward (grants for service-learning modules at universities) and through participation in a community of practice (CHESP core groups), where discourses were created and reinforced during contact sessions. In Miller and Rose’s (1990) terms, allies were enrolled and subjected to a process of “interessement” (p. 4). CHESP core group participants were expected to take their learning back to their institutions and promote uptake of service-learning through various

micro-level activities, for example, seminars, workshops, consultations, community meetings, etc. (Mitchell, Trotter & Gelmon, 2005).

Thus, through the policy imperative, and the structures created to support the implementation of the policy, higher education institutions and particular academics/faculty were responsabilised. Rose's (1999) notion of "government through freedom" (p. xxiii) is relevant here. Rose (1999) highlighted the interplay between being governed by the state and governing oneself, taking cognisance of opportunities for contestation and resistance. As highlighted in the literature review, many academics who responded to the call for service-learning programmes were already involved in community engagement or activist initiatives. Their participation may therefore have served self-interest (resistance or freedom) in terms of receiving funding and support for work that they were already engaged in and responsabilised towards, as well as contestation, by continuing to pursue models of engagement that did not necessarily fit the CHESP model (cf: Mitchell et al., 2005).

Regardless of the motives, or intentions (which Foucault (1980d) advises us not to focus on), the power effects of the policy for the transformation of higher education (and its subsequent structures for implementation) have resulted in forms of government over the community engagement activities of higher education institutions and their staff. This governmentality is expected to further permeate into the kinds of students these institutions and practices produce.

4.3.2 Mechanisms of participation and empowerment

At, what could be perceived as, the opposite end of the spectrum of coercive power practices, are the notions of participation and empowerment that are central to the service-learning endeavour. Participation and empowerment are generally considered tools for more democratic and egalitarian practices, and favourable outcomes. They are appropriated in various domains for their seemingly neutral or even beneficent nature. But, as was highlighted in the conceptual framework, even these seemingly innocent tools are places where power effects are exercised.

The literature review has emphasised that student and community participation are key for the success of any service-learning endeavour. Writings on partnerships in service-learning have underscored the importance of mutually beneficial and empowering relationships between community partners and their higher education partners and students. In discussion of best practices, care is taken (Bringle, Hatcher & Games, 1997) to underline how community partners need to be consulted at every step of the process. Service-learning, by definition, requires students to participate in community-based activities as part of their academic curriculum. The participation of communities is also assumed in the creation of the service-learning activity – communities, at the very least, need to participate by hosting students at their sites.

The idea of participation *per se* is not problematised in the service-learning literature. Participation in partnerships, and the dynamics of these relationships between communities and higher education institutions, have been reflected on (Mitchell & Humphries, 2007). Some authors have also described students' varying levels of engagement in service-learning over the course of a module (cf: Kiely, 2004). However, there does not seem to have been any reflection on the assumption of participation in service-learning.

Assumptions of participation position it as a neutral activity (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005), and that it encompasses choice and individuals exercising their freedom to choose. After all, students choose to enrol for a service-learning course, they choose to be active in a community, the community partner chooses to have an arrangement with the university, and so on. From a Foucauldian perspective, participation can be regarded as a form of governmentality, whereby participation prescribes a certain way of being; it promotes a particular kind of subjectivation and a way of demonstrating one's freedom. Masschelein and Quaghebeur (2005, p. 68) explained it thus: "[P]articipation acts upon individuals by getting them to act in and on their own interests, by getting them to act as self-determining, self-controlling, self-reliant, competent and autonomous actors". Thus, paradoxically, in participating, one is constructing oneself through techniques of the self.

The service-learning literature has not examined the assumptions in the field regarding participation (of students, communities, faculty). It has taken participation for granted as a reality, and has thus failed to recognise that participation itself is “part of an operation of power, governing people to behave themselves in a particular determined way” (Quaghebeur, Masschelein & Nguyen, 2004, p. 154). It is important to remember that Foucault does not assign judgement or evaluation to these practices; rather he asks how things could be otherwise. Asking service-learning how practice would be different if participation were not taken for granted exposes the operations of power in the endeavour.

Similarly, empowerment is also assumed to be a beneficent practice. How can there be anything wrong with ensuring another also has³ power? Service-learning aims to empower both students and communities to effect change. The literature review has emphasised the numerous benefits to students that service-learning claims to yield. These benefits of skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviour are considered empowering.

However, as highlighted in the previous chapter, Ellsworth (1989) and Gore (1990) emphasised the paradoxical nature of activities which are believed to be empowering. Ellsworth (1989) drew our attention to the fact that educational endeavours always operate within the context of the authority which exists between lecturer/faculty and student, and that even dialogues which are meant to be empowering, and have the illusion of equality, are still bound up in these power effects.

Gore (1990) also tried to escape the paradoxes of power and agency, arguing that empowerment always implies a dichotomous us/them relationship, where those with power give or share that power with others. Our service-learning practices of dialogues between students and academic staff, between community and academic staff, and between students and community members, have the intention of being empowering. After all, one does not effect real change without ensuring those who are responsible for it have a sense of agency. Yet Gore’s (1990) dilemmas become ours when we recognise the circularity of participating in perpetuating those power effects. By way of very simple explanation: We

³ In Foucauldian terms, power is not be able to be possessed or ‘had’; it can only be exercised.

use our authority (in the nicest way possible, e.g. a team talk) to instruct our students (others) that their interactions with communities should be empowering. What we model for them is the use of power effects to convince others to change. My argument here is not that we should avoid the exercise of power through these techniques, but rather that we should recognise them for what they are, instead of assuming they are neutral and beneficent practices. We are never outside of power (Foucault, 1990).

Foucault (1980d) advised that we should study the exercise of power at its extremities, as this is where it produces real effects. The critical reflection process in service-learning is where this kind of micro-analysis of instances of power is possible.

4.3.3 The process of critical reflection

A central part of the service-learning apparatus is the critical reflection process. The extent and reach of critical reflection depends on the model of service-learning employed. The literature review highlights the fact that service-learning endeavours can be located on a continuum, thus once-off visits to communities and international immersion experiences may both be categorised as service-learning, although they are likely to have different processes, aims and expectations. Models which aim for transformation in students are likely to offer much more intensive experiences for students than superficial exposure or awareness visits.

Reflection and critical reflection take a variety of forms in service-learning, from face-to-face small discussion groups, to online discussion boards, peer conversations and interviews, critical incident journals, reflective essays, and learning logs, amongst others. Reflection can be oral or written, it can be individual or group based, or it can be for assessment or personal purposes. The common aspect to these reflection activities is that it requires the individual to make the private public, even if that public is an internalised other. From a Foucauldian perspective, it involves the individual in technologies of the self, in a form of telling the truth about the self and thus constituting that self. From this perspective, these various tools can be understood as different forms of self-regulation and self-governance.

From a governmentality perspective, reflection can be viewed as a technique of the self, where through internalising the other, the student subjects herself to scrutiny and self-governance, always aiming to achieve the desired norm. From the perspective of pastoral power, reflection can be viewed as confession – making the private available for public scrutiny, appraisal and judgement, requesting absolution and shaping oneself into the desirable subject.

Foucault's conceptualisation of the confessional is useful here. Service-learning places the academic in a position of authority which allows her to insist on the students submitting to some kind of confessional process (reflective tool). Devas (2004) reminded us that this position of authority allows the authority to decide how the confession should take place, what needs to be confessed, and what will count as truth. These power effects are strengthened when evaluation (or assessment for credit) is allocated to the product of confession. Foucault (1990) highlighted that the potential for the extraction of truth is strengthened by the intimacy of the relationship between the confessor and the authority/listener. The service-learning literature abounds with extracts from students' journals or reflective essays where they confess and construct deep aspects of their selves to the reader (see, for example, Bursaw, 2013; Carrington, 2011; Kiely, 2004). They make public thoughts, attitudes, behaviours, responses, and feelings in raw ways, where they expose their shadows and their light. I would posit that it is the intensity of the service-learning experience that makes this kind of intimacy and confession possible. Service-learning aims to throw students into disequilibrium, to have them experience disorientating dilemmas, as the assumption is that these will lead to transformational learning (Kiely, 2004; 2005; Mezirow, 1997). These experiences of dissonance often result in students requesting assistance from a more expert other, the shepherd, who also provides guidance and emotional support.

My argument, therefore, is that service-learning intentionally places students in contexts which render them vulnerable and therefore more malleable to forms of governance, including governance of the self. The academic/authority/shepherd participates in this process by making herself accessible, through confessing her own shortcomings, and her

own dedication to the process of becoming. The intensity of these power effects will differ in various contexts, with, for example, a written one-page descriptive reflection demanding less of the participants than an immersive group experience, but I contend the strategies and tactics are the same. The one-page reflection still requires the private be made public, that it is submitted to an authority for approval or redemption, that it requires obedience and submission on the part of the student, and that at least some self-regulation is enforced.

These differences in the power effects alert us to the possibilities of freedom and resistance. From a Foucauldian perspective, power and resistance co-constitute each other; there cannot be the operation of power without the operation of resistance and the existence of free subjects (Foucault, 1982). Foucault was interested in the strategies and tactics that subjects adopt to free themselves from the power effects of regimes of truth, about how subjects make themselves into what they would like to be. Within the service-learning field, we therefore need to examine how students (community members/faculty) resist the forms of subjectification they are exposed to, as well as how they use the experience to practice their freedom by experimenting with alternative ways of being. Though some would argue that freedom is another form of being governed (Rose, 1999) and an illusion of choice (Graham, 2007), it is worth attending to the freedom practices that the participants employ within a regime of truth.

Within the service-learning sphere, it is possible to imagine that student resistance would be evident in refusals, silences, or even alternative courses of action. For example, a student may refuse to make submissions – either at all, or in the form required – or refuse to work in a particular community or in a particular way, or refuse to participate in group or online discussions. Resistance may also be evident in silences and withdrawal, either in class, or on paper or in community sites. Resistance may also be evident in proposing and motivating for alternatives. Practices of freedom may be evident in students' taking on different identities to those proffered by the regime of truth, by challenges to established practices, by realising the rules of the game, and complying in order to achieve credit or praise. Participants may practice their freedom by choosing to participate in a manner which best suits them, in

Foucault's words by asking: "By whom do we consent to be directed or conducted? How do we want to be conducted? Towards what do we want to be led?" (Foucault, 2007, p. 264). Likewise, communities and academics may also resist the subjectivities constructed in the regime of truth and, in practicing their freedom, choose to be otherwise.

It is easy to be lured by an exploration of motives and intentions in this kind of analysis, or to make judgements of good or bad. Neither of these avenues of enquiry yield useful results, as these results always depend on whose version of the truth is privileged. It is therefore more useful to examine what people actually do – their practices. It is for this reason that this study chose to focus on the practices in the context of small group critical reflection. The next chapter will explain how this was executed. Before that, it may be useful to foreground the various aspects of the service-learning endeavour that are often taken for granted, not problematised, and assumed as either neutral or beneficent. The section which follows attempts to provide a schematic for understanding critical reflection in action, that is, service-learning as it is exercised in practice. This schematic tries to foreground players in, and aspects of, the service-learning apparatus, which may otherwise not be brought to bear in our reflections on our practice.

4.4 An exposition of the elements of the apparatus of service-learning

As described above, Foucauldian critiques of critical reflection draw attention to the possibility that this taken-for-granted everyday practice is actually a device to promote governmentality, both through the pastoral power practices of the facilitator and the technologies of the self, which bring one's conduct in line with what is desirable within a particular regime of truth. The Foucauldian perspective outlined above highlights the various elements of the apparatus of service-learning. Figure 4.1 attempts to capture this in a graphic form.

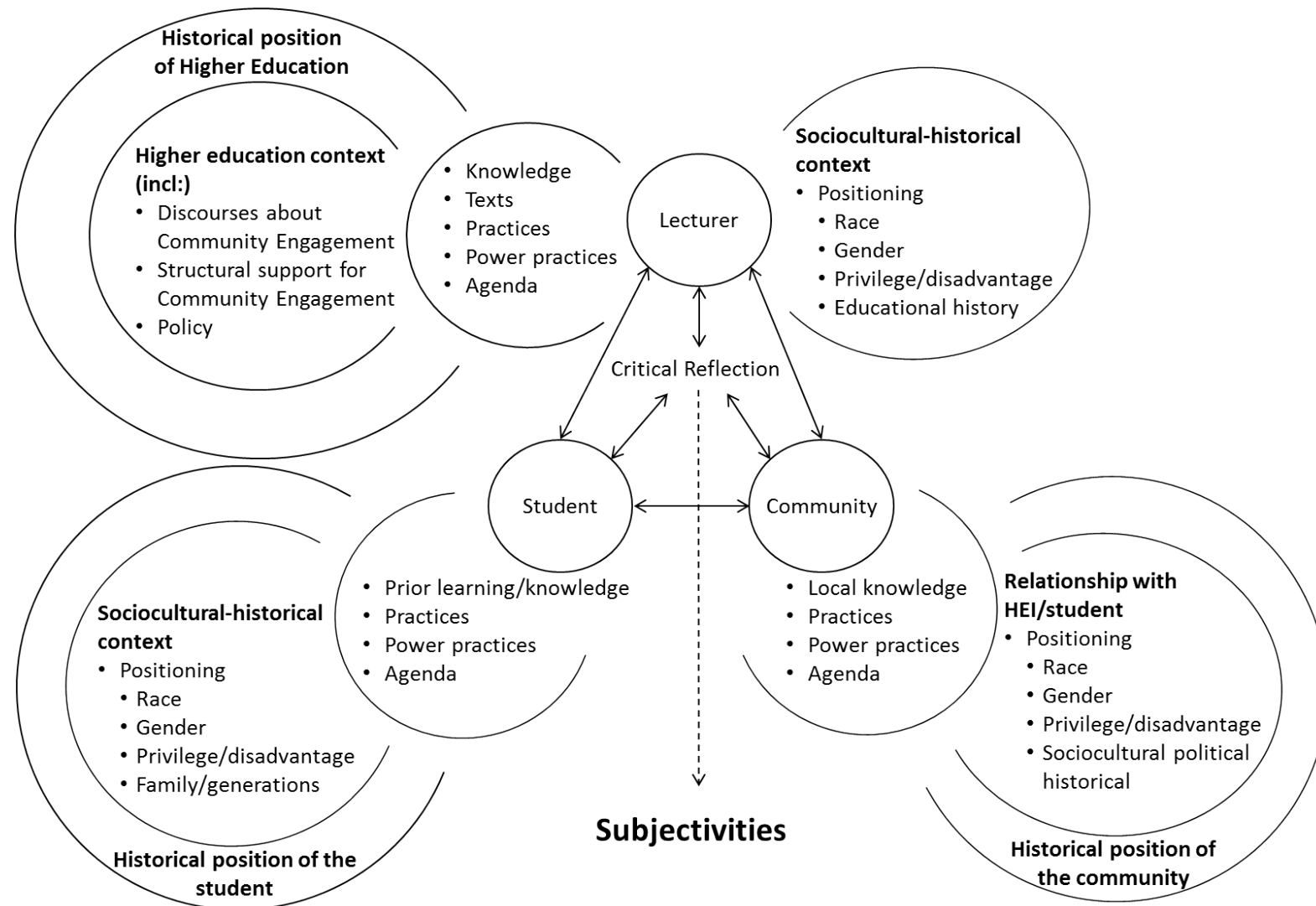


Figure 4.1: Elements of the service-learning apparatus.

Gilbert's (1997) original diagram of communities of practice has been utilised here and extended to try to unmask the multiple elements of the service-learning apparatus. The current diagram attempts to draw attention to the subjectivities that are constructed through the apparatus. While traditional service-learning research has focused on the skills, knowledge and understandings that service-learning produces, a Foucauldian perspective questions what ways of knowing, doing and being are privileged, in other words, what subjectivities are created and promoted. This conceptualisation of critical reflection can be used to imagine different outcomes when certain perspectives are privileged or silenced. The reader needs to imagine, instead of this static two-dimensional representation, a dynamic process where the circles expand and contract, and the exercise of power moves in different directions at different stages of the process.

4.4.1 Historical position

Foucault (1982) would emphasise considering the historical development of the construction of these subjectivities. Thus, a Foucauldian perspective would argue that we need to consider the participants in the service-learning process, as well as how they have come to be constituted in their current form. Higher education institutions, for example, have their own historical traditions, which may be different in different parts of the world (depending on how higher education was born in that context, and the current influences on the form it takes). In the USA, the leaning towards a service-oriented approach in higher education developed initially through the land-grant universities (Stanton & Erasmus, 2013). In South Africa, different institutions have their own histories, for example, formerly designated 'black' universities or previously advantaged institutions, which have impacted on their current form, structure and function. These 'genealogies' serve to privilege certain forms of governance and subjectivities. Moreover, the lecturer approaches the endeavour with her own positioning, her own sociocultural and educational history. Her gender, race, relative privilege or disadvantage and other contextual factors serve to position her in particular ways.

Likewise, communities, or *the* community, have their own historical position. The literature review troubled the notion that in South Africa, the term community is generally associated

with a geographic cluster that in the main consists of 'black' disadvantaged people. This is not how communities are constructed in other parts of the world. In the USA, the 'community' partner in service-learning is usually a service organisation of some sort (Stanton & Erasmus, 2013). The literature review also questioned the utility of the homogenous way of thinking about community in South Africa, as well as the manner in which it restricts community engagement to certain forms. Thus, communities have their own genealogy which constructs the members in particular kinds of ways.

As a body, students also have their own historical position. Being a student has been understood in various ways over time and geography. The subjectivity of being a student also manifests in different ways in different parts of the world, where 'traditional' students in one setting constitute 'non-traditional' students in another (e.g. school leaver, full-time versus full-time employed, mature, online student). It is useful to consider that each student who enters the service-learning process may have their own history (e.g. first generation university student) which will influence their being in the context.

4.4.2 Contexts

The figure depicts the fact that each participant in the service-learning process enters from their own sociocultural/political/historical context with its concomitant injunctions and prohibitions. The higher education institution operates within the context of the broader Department of Education. It is mandated to fulfil education policy imperatives and comply with its conditions (as per the White Paper 3, for example). In addition, within the higher education sphere, there are discourses in this regard about community engagement and the responsibilities of higher education. There are discourses within the higher education institution itself, and structures (or the lack thereof) to support community engagement, which all direct investment (or lack thereof) in these kinds of activities.

As described above, the genealogy of a community positions it in a particular way in the broader context. This positioning depends on perceived disadvantage or privilege; racial and gender constructions; geographic location (urban or rural); origins (community-based, faith-

based), etc. Similarly, the lecturer and students are also constructed along these dimensions of privilege, race, gender and origin.

4.4.3 Within the critical reflection process

Thus, when the academic, student and community join through service-learning, these different genealogies and contexts constitute the frames and the regimes of truth within which critical reflection takes place. In the process of critical reflection, the academic enters from a particular disciplinary (in terms of academic discipline) perspective with its agenda, goals, texts, discourses, practices, and power practices, etc. As has already been explored, the agenda may be the production of activists or empathic practitioners; the goals may be to provide a challenging learning experience to sharpen skills, or to work effectively within a given community; the discipline will have its own texts and discourses; and the facilitator will have her own power practices.

The context of the academic interacts with that of the students who have their own agenda (meaningful community service, experience to improve their resume, achievement of good grades); their own prior learning experiences (including community-based experiences); their own discourses and practices as students; and their own power practices, which they can use to resist or engage with the process.

These two participants interact with a community site where the students are based. The community site will have its own agenda (meeting specific tangible needs, participating in creating more socially conscious students); its own discourses and practices; its own local knowledge and possibly texts; and its own power practices, whereby it can embrace or resist the students'/faculties' efforts or interventions.

The bidirectional arrows in the diagram are meant to indicate the dynamic flow of power, which can be in multiple directions. If we expand or contract any of the circles (representing the players), this would also impact on the power effects. What the diagram is attempting to depict is that, in order to understand the subjectivities that emerge from the service-learning process, we need to understand the dynamic flow of power and resistance

between the different participants in the process. The diagram also attempts to allow for the possibility of resistance, which is not explicitly captured in much of the service-learning literature. If we imagine any of the arrows being only unidirectional, or even absent, this would impact on the construction of the subjects within and through the process. The expansion or contraction of the participant 'circles' also allows for the possibility of hegemonic or subjugated discourses in the process.

In addition, it would be naive to assume that the critical reflection process only occurs during allocated academic sessions (and it is undesirable for it to be so). Students continue to debate issues long after class is over; they take their debates and questions to their homes, families and friendship groups. Conversations at their community sites continue, conflicts arise and are negotiated. This diagram therefore needs to be considered as only one part of different nested systems.

In one way or another, subjectivities are constructed. Ultimately, students submit evidence of their new subjectivities in papers/portfolios/assessment tasks for examination. These products are designed to demonstrate their insights and learning through the critical reflection process. By allowing for the possibility of resistance or freedom that co-exists with power practices, we can also imagine that what the participants, and perhaps students in particular, demonstrate is their astuteness in establishing what it is that a particular academic is looking for, the discourses, the questions and conclusions that have been 'cued' so effectively through the process. If critical reflection is a strategic game (Macfarlane & Gourlay, 2009), we must anticipate that the participants will learn the rules and develop strategies and tactics for negotiating the best outcome.

4.5 Conclusion and argument for the current study

This chapter attempted to unmask the elements of the service-learning apparatus through the application of a Foucauldian perspective. Moving from a broad perspective, a schematic was presented and discussed, in order to narrow our focus to consider the elements of service-learning and critical reflection worthy of scrutiny and problematisation. The

narrowest point of this focus concerns the nature of the interactions in the critical reflection process.

This exposition has, however, not clarified *how* the subjectivities are constructed. Critiques (Butin, 2005) and reviews of research in service-learning (Reason & Hemer, 2015) have called for increased research on how transformation occurs in context. In addition, others (e.g. Battistoni, 2013) have highlighted the need to focus on the educator and her role in the development of certain kinds of students. The previous chapters have described the research of authors (Baptiste, 2000; 2008; Billig et al., 1988; Brookfield, 2001; 2005; 2009; Brown, 2004; Boud & Walker, 1998; Mercer, 2001) who have applied this level of scrutiny to their own practices. This study, therefore, examined the strategies and tactics of participating in the critical reflection process in the context of service-learning, as well as the subjectivities that these afford.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 The complexities of a post-structuralist approach

In closing the literature review, I posited that the fish are possibly not aware of the water they are swimming in. The difficulty with a post-structuralist approach is that we are all fish, swimming in some kind of water, and can never be outside of it. We may be in a fishbowl and not aware of the potential of the pond, or likewise in a pond and not aware of the freedom of a river, but we are always in water, and as researchers, we need to be aware of the water we are swimming in and how it positions us in particular ways.

Post-structuralism embraces complexity and contradiction and the absence of absolutes. It highlights the impossibility of universal truths (Grant & Giddings, 2002) and locates the researcher as operating within a regime of truth (the water), which they are caught up in and implicated in producing. Post-structuralism's inability to declare a truth finding, and only provide partial and subjective accounts (Grant & Giddings, 2002), leaves this kind of research in a subjugated position, where positivistic approaches are privileged. Feminist author Haraway (1991) described researchers in this situation as climbing "the greased pole leading to a usable doctrine of objectivity" (p. 188). She emphasised that researchers cannot do a "god trick of seeing everything from nowhere" (Haraway, 1991, p. 189). We are always operating from within sociological and ideological assumptions (Baxter, 2002), and cannot propose a grand narrative, which would then become its own regime of truth. Olson (2015) argued this eloquently by stating "it is impossible for social researchers, as historically situated individuals studying other people, to escape the orders of discourse and regimes of truth that make up the social realities in which every person is imbedded" (p. 97).

Given this dilemma, reflexivity is proposed as a way forward, where the researcher explicates her own agenda, values and assumptions (Baxter, 2002) and how these influence the research process. Acknowledging one's role in the construction of the object of scrutiny provides escape from the illusion of objectivity. McLaren (2009) provided a helpful disclaimer in this regard: "[R]esearch can only be conducted and results presented as the

researcher's version of a particular moment in history, filtered through their own constructions of the social milieu (p. 5)".

5.2 Researcher reflexivity

Subjectivity is not a badge of honour, something earned like a merit badge and paraded around on special occasions for all to see. Whatever the substance of one's persuasions at a given point, one's subjectivity is like a garment that cannot be removed. It is insistently present in both the research and non-research aspects of our life. (Peshkin, 1988, p. 17)

Researcher reflexivity is vital in order to clarify the nature of the researcher's relationship with the research material (Finlay, 2002). This kind of declaration also clarifies the researcher's positions and power relationships in the research context (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Various authors have suggested different ways of achieving this (Bradbury-Jones, 2007; McCabe & Holmes, 2009) and for different purposes, depending on the ontology of the researcher. McCabe and Holmes (2009) argued that, from a Foucauldian perspective, the researcher can be seen as a caring agent vested with pastoral power, who can use their reflexivity to move participants towards emancipation or empowerment. They stated that, "in the role of a caring agent, the researcher provides a safe space wherein both parties may engage in expanded reflexivity" (McCabe & Holmes, 2009, p. 1523). These assumptions regarding empowerment, emancipation and a safe space may be naïve in the light of the arguments presented above, regarding our immersion in regimes of truth, or the 'garment' of subjectivity that cannot be removed. To extend Peshkin's analogy, it may be more useful to consider our subjectivity the skin of the researcher which helps to constitute her being; after all, we can ultimately remove garments.

The account below attempts to present the reader with my multiple positionings in relation to this study.

5.2.1 Complementary and competing positionings

Robinson (2002) proposed that "the researcher is more able to recognise the contingency and partiality of any account produced about the 'other' through examining their implication in the research process" (p. 4). In conceptualising how I was implicated in the

research process, I found it useful to imagine my various roles or positionings and their relative distance from the critical reflection process during the service-learning course.

Figure 5.1 below is a graphic representation of this.

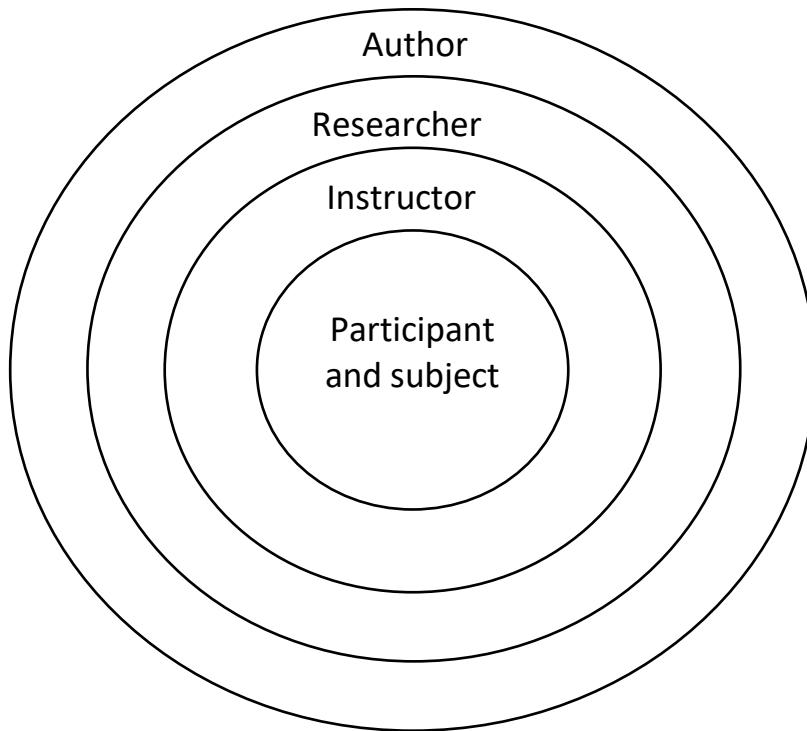


Figure 5.1: Complementary and competing positionings.

Being constructed in these different positions resulted in my having differing investments in the process. At the level of *participant and subject*, I was part of the critical reflection process; the talk was between the student participants and myself. I was involved in the construction of the students and myself through the process. At this level, my stake was about providing students with the space to reflect on and learn from the experience. In this position, I wanted to present myself as a resource, sounding board and critical listener – pushing students to deeper levels of critical reflection. As a participant, I wanted to model authenticity to the students and thus used self-disclosure to achieve this. I was a participant as a research subject. I was also constructed in various other subject positions in and through the participants and the process.

At the level of *instructor*, I had academic objectives that I was trying to achieve. This position afforded me the rights to prescribe readings, assignments and assessments. It allowed me

to direct the process in particular ways (through key questions or the focus of the readings prescribed for the sessions). At stake here was the ability to demonstrate that I had met my responsibilities as lecturer/academic, to be able to produce a report which reflected on the goals of the course and the outcomes in relation to these goals. I also needed to be able to produce evidence of student learning.

At the level of *researcher*, I needed to ensure that good enough quality data were collected through the process to be able to answer the research questions. At the time the course took place, I did not have a conceptual framework through which to view the process, and thus my original research questions concerned ways of 'knowing':

1. What ways of knowing emerge in the critical reflection process in service-learning?
2. How are these ways of knowing facilitated through this process?
3. Why do these ways of knowing emerge in the critical reflection process?

These questions changed following my uptake of a Foucauldian lens, when I realised that what I was interested in was more than knowing, but also included ways of doing and being, that is, Foucault's notion of subjectivities. Although I did not approach the data collection process with a Foucauldian lens, this does not mean that there was no imposition of a research agenda on the critical reflection process. I approached the research from a psychological perspective (given that this is my disciplinary preference). My predisposition was therefore more inclined towards the pastoral, as is a norm in my discipline. Further, a scientist-practitioner model is encouraged in psychology, and this was also a frame of reference as I proceeded with the research. In addition, In the position of researcher, I wanted to ensure that the course ran to completion and that no participants withdrew, so that the data collected was considered sufficient.

Being positioned as *author* was temporally different from the other three positions, as this occurred after the data collection had taken place. In writing up the research, the author provides her account of the process and her observations. Thus, although this role is separate from the others, it encompasses the others, as this ultimately determines what 'truth' is told of the process within which the other subject positions are subsumed. At stake

for the author are the credibility and trustworthiness of the account and the usefulness of the story for other researchers and stakeholders in the service-learning field.

Claims of distance from the data or the process are likely spurious, as these multiple subject positions meant that I was being all of these subjects across temporal and spatial dimensions. Coffey (1999) argued that, because we are a part of what we study, we analyse and author ourselves, our experiences and conversations. Thus, as the author position constructs the preferred account, I have represented it as subsuming the other subject positions. Ultimately, the author decides the story that will be told. At the same time, I was both participant, subject, instructor and researcher. These different subjectivities with their differing investments in the process interacted, complementing and competing with each other during the process. As participant, I was invested in having an authentic encounter with the other participants. As instructor, I had authority to regulate and direct the process.

The interplay between authenticity and authority has been discussed in previous chapters; however, suffice to state that these are not easy bedfellows and create conflict for either position. How could I be authentic and real and self-disclosing, without losing my authority? This interplay of power effects was one of the foci of the study. From the researcher position, my investment was in ensuring defensible methodological procedures and decisions. Again, the interplay with issues of authenticity was relevant here – how could I ensure that all the participants remained in the process and attended all the sessions, and remain congruent? Lastly, as author, trustworthiness was the issue at stake. The issue of trustworthiness involved my capacity to be all of these roles and, at the same time, ‘extract’ myself from these roles to provide more than an anecdotal account.

5.2.2 Multiple subject positions

I thus occupied many positions in approaching this research; I was lecturer, researcher, participant and subject. I was also shepherd, confidant, assessor and evaluator. I was an activist with a clear political agenda which was stated to the students at the outset. I was also a fellow student, collecting data for my post-graduate thesis. All these positions, and

my continued passion for service-learning, provided lenses through which the data were collected, selected and analysed.

In order to enhance reflexivity, Le Gallais (2008) advocated providing a continuum regarding one's positions; I have used her framework and adjusted it below:

Table 5.1
Researcher positions

Position on the continuum	Potential benefits and challenges
Lecturer to the participants	Increases the power effects, danger of bias, established relationship of authenticity and authority
Known to and knowing the participants	Existing relationship of trust, preconceived ideas about each other based on past experiences, privy to information outside the research context
Known to the community sites	Existing relationship of trust and responsibility, increased accountability for students on site
Knowledge of service-learning	Increased authority with students, licence to use 'unconventional' methods, illusion of freedom
Fellow student	Shared experience of post-graduate education, assumed familiarity

Bradbury-Jones (2007) advocated using Peshkin's I's (1988), where the researcher identifies the multiple subject positions she occupies during the research in order to account for their potential influence on the process. Some of the possible positions I occupied included:

The psychologist I – the *psychologist I* approached the service-learning process as a psychological encounter, where the whole person of the other needs to be understood in context and assisted with change that leads to growth and development, in order that the other may become a better version of themselves. The *psychologist I* accepted that emotionality is part of the process and part of the energy required to being motivated to change. The *psychologist I* used techniques from psychotherapy (reflection, empathy,

questioning, challenge) during the critical reflection sessions. The *psychologist I* also attempted to convey core attitudes of congruence, empathy and unconditional positive regard to the participants.

The academic I – the *academic I* links to the *psychologist I* in the use of psychological theory. The *academic I* placed value on academic achievement through the development of critical thinking skills. The *academic I* emphasised the importance of the critique and contextualisation of theory. The *academic I* referred to academic texts and journals, and to the development of academic writing.

The activist I – the *activist I* emphasised the importance of bringing about change in communities. The *activist I* promoted the questioning of the status quo in order to promote social justice. The *activist I* attempted to develop the students into current and future activists through engaging them in activities that exposed them to inequalities. The *activist I* emphasised the perspectives of the communities and the importance of relationships with key stakeholders.

The evangelist I – closely related to the *activist I* was the *evangelist I*, who tried to generate passion and commitment to The Cause. The *evangelist I* used various techniques to incite the participants to take up particular roles and to develop fervour in relation to the work.

Of course, some of the functions of these positions are the object of this study. Having stated some of my possible positions and positionings, I am aware of the possible rhetorical function of such reflexivity (Potter & Wetherell, 1995). My explication of my positions is not an attempt to hide them in plain sight, but rather to acknowledge that my account can only be partial and tentative.

5.2.3 The challenges of this subjectivity for this study

Fortunately, a post-structuralist approach allows for multiple contradictory perspectives, and acknowledges that researcher objectivity is impossible. My personal challenges in this study were:

- Holding on to the notion that things are not good or bad, but rather dangerous. As a service-learning practitioner, I did not want to be seen as casting judgement on others' practices, but rather as trying to open up taken-for-granted assumptions to consideration and critique.
- Related to this was trying to convey my humility in asking these questions. I wanted to approach the field with a humble and open attitude, with the intention of improving practice, not destroying it.
- It was difficult for me to move beyond a focus on intentions (which Foucault maintains are unimportant) and to rather focus on what was being achieved through the talk. Given that I was doing the talking, and thought I knew what I was intending with that talk, made it very important to use the data analysis techniques to provide the distance between action and motive.
- Avoiding infinite regress (Findlay, 2002) where reflection upon reflection upon reflection and the inability to escape the water left me sometimes confused about where I had started in my thinking and how I had reached the conclusions, which seemed to contradict where I had started. The section above, regarding my contradictory positionings, is such an example.

Having provided an account of my positions, subjectivities and challenges, the next section discusses the purpose of the research, which is situated in the context of the confessional conveyed above.

5.3 Purpose and focus of research

The previous chapter highlighted the need to focus on the micro-level interactions that occur in the critical reflection process in service-learning. Whilst recognising that critical reflection is one of many possible sites where subjectivities are produced and resisted, it is an appropriate site for scrutiny, as it allows observation of the everyday practices in the classroom. It is also the site where various discourses come to be foregrounded and compete, and such is the focus of a post-structuralist approach. The objectives and questions this research sought to address are provided below, followed by a discussion of context of the study.

5.3.1 The objectives of this study

1. To explore the construction of the 'good citizen' through the critical reflection process in service-learning.
2. To problematise taken-for-granted practices in the reflection process in service-learning, in order to develop a more critical, informed approach to the field.

5.3.2 Research questions

1. What are the strategies and tactics of participating in the critical reflection process in service-learning?
2. How does the critical reflection process in service-learning lead to the construction of the 'good citizen'?

The first question follows Foucault's (2007) advice to focus on strategies and tactics. He wrote:

[T]he point of view of pastoral power, of this analysis of the structures of power, enables us, I think, to take up these things and analyse them, no longer in the form of reflection and transcription, but in the form of strategies and tactics. (Foucault, 2007, pp. 282-283).

Foucault argued that we should analyse the "utilisation of tactics which allows the modification of relations of power and the bringing into play of theoretical elements which morally justify and give a basis to these tactics in rationality" (2007, p. 283). Hence, in viewing service-learning from the lens of pastoral power, it seemed appropriate to explore the strategies and tactics in operation in the critical reflection process. This kind of focus draws attention to how power and resistance are exercised and rationalised.

With regard to the second question, it is tempting at this point in the research process, to tweak the original objectives and questions to allow a more nuanced approach to the kinds of subjectivities constructed through the process, and not just a focus on the 'good citizen'. However, in accordance with the post-structuralist paradigm, these questions could be considered as part of a fluid process of the constantly shifting, sometimes contradictory,

ideas of the researcher-subject. Given that the notion of a good citizen is in scare quotes, this at least allows some latitude in this regard.

5.4 Context of the study

The service-learning course under scrutiny was offered to honours students in psychology during the second semester of the academic year. During this course, fourth-year psychology students were required to spend time in community-based sites providing psychological services for a period of approximately 13 weeks. Each week, the students returned to the campus for critical reflection sessions on what they had experienced and how it related to the theories they had encountered in their psychological studies.

The course outline and related documents are attached in Appendix 1. This outline states the objectives, structure, requirements and prescribed readings for the course. The course was an elective offered alongside numerous others to the honours students. Different electives had different structures and different course requirements. For the service-learning elective, the students were required to work in small groups in disadvantaged⁴ schools that I had an existing relationship with, through a community engagement initiative (S*). Although I was the facilitator of this connection, part of the students' task was to negotiate their possible role/s at the school site. During the course of the 13-week semester, the students visited the school on a weekly basis and met with me on campus for a reflective session on eight occasions.

The schools where the students did their service-learning are characterised by the effects of poverty and apartheid. They are located in 'townships', which are the result of South African historical and political processes, where black⁵ South Africans were forced to live outside the cities. Even today, "[a]ll these areas are characterised by low levels of community facilities and commercial investment, high unemployment, low household incomes and

⁴ South African schools are categorised according to quintile ranks, which indicate the degree to which they are resourced by the government, where a rank of one means least resourced.

⁵ The classification of people on the basis of race was part of Apartheid policy. Despite the fact that the Population Registration Act is no longer used, the identification of people in racialised terms is still part of everyday practice (Posel, 2001).

poverty” (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 3). The schools thus experience a number of difficulties operating in these under-resourced contexts with children who come from difficult circumstances.

5.5 Research design

5.5.1 Approach

Foucault’s ideas and research reveal the methodological premise regarding the central role of discourses in constructing reality (McClaren, 2009). Some authors argue that Foucault did not articulate a method for analysing said discourses (cf. Graham, 2005; McLaren, 2009). His methods were historical in nature, focusing on genealogy and archaeology. He did not, however, provide a method for micro-level analyses of discourse, a step-by-step guide to Foucauldian discourse analysis. He did advocate an “ascending analysis of power” (Foucault, 1980d, p. 99), a focus on the capillary level (Foucault, 1980a, p. 39), and on discursive formations. A focus on discursive formations allows one to map the way in which objects/subjects are formed and how this is articulated. Graham (2005) explained that this means that the focus is therefore not on the truth of an object, but how it might become formed. Foucault (1972) highlighted that “behind the completed system, what is discovered by the analysis of formations is not the bubbling source of life itself, life in an as yet uncaptured state; it is an immense density of systematicities, a tight group of multiple relations” (p. 76). A post-structuralist perspective, therefore, embraces contradiction and complexity.

5.5.2 Case study design

A case study design was used, where the service-learning course itself was the case under scrutiny. The service-learning course was a case in that it was a bounded system (bounded in time and place), which was able to provide rich, in-depth information in context over time (Ghesqui re, Maes & Vandenberghe, 2004). A case study design allows the intensive study of a selected sample in order to illustrate the phenomena being observed (Essed, 1994, p. 102).

Yin (1994) explained that case studies are useful for “establishing the how and why of a complex human situation” (p. 16). In addition, case studies are idiographic and focus on the particular, recognising the complexities and unpredictabilities of the social context (Willig, 2008). A case study approach is also holistic in that it recognises that phenomena need to be understood in context.

There are diverse approaches to case study research, depending on the epistemological approach and the desired outcomes. I argue that the current study involved an instrumental case study, whereby the case under scrutiny is used to provide insight into an issue. Stake explains it thus:

[T]he case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case still is looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinised and its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps us pursue the external interest. (Stake, 1995, p. 445)

The service-learning course under scrutiny was selected to explore to an external interest in what is happening in the benevolent process of critical reflection in service-learning. The case was of interest due to the fact that it provided access to the everyday practices that occurred in the context of a service-learning course. Recording the interactions in the sessions allowed for a focus on the particular activities in those sessions and how those were executed.

5.5.2.1 In defence of the case study

Haraway's (1991) greased pole analogy has reference here, in that case study research has, in the past, been harshly critiqued from those in favour of more objective methods:

[S]uch studies have such a total absence of control as to be of almost no scientific value. ... Any appearance of absolute knowledge, or intrinsic knowledge about singular isolated objects, is found to be illusory upon analysis. ... It seems well-nigh unethical at the present time to allow, as theses or dissertations in education, case studies of this nature (i.e. involving a single group observed at one time only). (Campbell & Stanley, 1966, pp. 6-7)

Fortunately, since this now infamous statement, perspectives have shifted (for some), and there is now recognition of the value of this approach in demonstrating complex connections amongst different factors at different levels (Ghesqui re et al., 2004).

Case study approaches have also been critiqued for their lack of generalisability. Flyvbjerg (2004) argued that generalisation is, however, overrated as the source of scientific progress. He wrote that the fact “that knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society” (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 424). He argued further that case studies allow close examination of real life situations as they unfold in practice.

A further criticism of the case study approach is the idea that cases are used to confirm the researcher’s preconceived ideas, that is, the method entails a bias towards verification. Flyvbjerg (2004) refuted this bias by citing many authors who “reported that their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts and hypotheses were wrong and that the case material ~~has~~ compelled them to revise their hypotheses on essential points” (p. 428). He therefore argued that case study research is more likely to bring researchers face-to-face with falsifications, where their original assumptions are refuted in the case study data. Flyvbjerg (2004) also pointed out that bias and subjectivism are likely to be present in many different research forms: “The case study contains no greater bias towards verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry” (p. 429).

In any research endeavour, there is always the danger of finding what you set out to look for. Silverman and Marvasti (2008, p. 264) recommended “deviant case analysis” as a tool for ensuring comprehensive data treatment. ‘Deviant’ in this context is not a reference to a comparison to a socially prescribed norm, which implies a truth against which cases are compared. Rather, it refers to the testing of analytic hypotheses or conclusions, examining the data for cases where these hypotheses may not apply, the instances where what is hypothesised does not happen. Thus, deviant case analysis provides the boundary conditions within which the research hypotheses apply. Silverman and Marvasti (2008)

explained it thus: “[S]o pieces of data are never intrinsically deviant but rather become so in relation to the approach used” (p. 268).

A case study approach was therefore most suitable for this study as it allowed the examination of everyday practices in their real life context. This approach allowed for a focus on the particular (micro-practices) and the contextual (broader discourses) which was suitable for a post-structuralist lens. A case study approach does not attempt to sanitise the data for ease of analysis, but instead embraces the messiness and complexity of ordinary life. Flyvbjerg (2004, p. 239) commented:

[W]hen writing up a case study, I demur from the role of omniscient narrator and summariser. Instead, I tell the story in its diversity, allowing the story to unfold from the many-sided, complex and sometimes conflicting stories that the actors in the case have told me.

5.6 Participants

The sample consisted of five psychology honours students who chose to participate in the community psychology elective. It was therefore a purposeful non-random sample (Terre Blanche, Kelly and Durrheim, 2006). Prior to the course commencing, students were informed that participation in this elective course would involve audio- and video-recording of the reflection sessions. As this was an elective, students had seven other courses to choose from and were not compelled in any way to participate in this particular course. Consent was obtained from the students prior to the data collection commencing. Students were further offered an alternative way of completing the requirements for the course if they chose not to participate in the recorded discussions. All of the participants were female, and between the ages of 20 and 30 years. Although the students came from differing sociocultural and economic backgrounds, none had grown up in the township context the schools were situated in.

Two of the participants (with the pseudonyms Elle and Kate) had participated in an undergraduate service-learning course with me the previous year. In addition, Elle was acting as a project assistant for the S* project, and thus had a close working relationship with me and was familiar with the context of the service-learning. There may therefore have

been some self-selection bias in the sample. The other three students also knew me from participating in other courses that I had taught on.

5.7 Data collection

Data was collected in the form of audio- and video-recordings of the critical reflection sessions. A total of eight ninety-minute sessions were recorded. The sessions were held in the psychology 'laboratory', where two video cameras were set up to enable the visual recording of the classroom interactions. The psychology laboratory has banks of computers along the sides of the room, and a large table for group discussions in the centre of the room. All of the reflection sessions took place at the table, with all participants (including myself) seated at the same level. The students were aware of the cameras and the recording. This was indicated in some part of the transcripts, where the students indicate they want to say something personal (unrelated to the course) off the record.

The sessions were transcribed verbatim using Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004a) (see Appendix 2). The video-recordings were used to include observations of significant nonverbal behaviours in the transcript (e.g. smiling, or extending arms), where they were useful in making sense of the transcribed data.

I would like to repeat that the data collection took place prior to my adoption of a Foucauldian pastoral power lens, whilst data analysis (described below) took place after this conceptual framework was employed. Thus, whilst the conceptual framework played a role in how the data was analysed, I did not have this in mind when I was facilitating the critical reflection sessions.

5.8 Data analysis

Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and power which they carry. ... What, after all, is an education system other than a ritualisation of speech, a qualification and a fixing of roles for speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, a distribution and appropriation of discourse with its powers and knowledges? (Foucault, 1981, p. 64)

The appropriation of a Foucauldian framework for this study implies taking up the rituals of this power/knowledge nexus, and the subject positions available therein for following the doctrine. A Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) was therefore selected as the method for analysing the data. In true Foucauldian form, however, there is no straightforward recipe for what this entails. Graham (2011) commented “it is quite difficult to find coherent descriptions of how one might go about ‘Foucauldian’ discourse analysis, but perhaps the difficulty in locating concise descriptions is because there is no such thing?” (p. 663). In her article, she described the multiple approaches to FDA as “different horses for different courses” (Graham, 2011, p. 663). Other authors have also commented on the multiplicity and tentativeness of approaches to FDA as consistent with a post-structuralist sensibility, which rests upon doubt and uncertainty in providing complex accounts (Ball, 1995; Humes & Bryce, 2003). Given this sensibility, research results are also framed carefully, not to be interpreted as truth, as such a claim is regarded as a rhetorical practice (Edwards & Nicoll, 2001). Rather, they are understood as enabling a different relationship with the prevailing dominant discourses, in order to see how things may be otherwise.

Having foregrounded this disclaimer about the certainty of any method employed in this genre, the notion of discourse from a Foucauldian perspective is discussed below, together with the aims of the analytic approach. Following this, I explain the ‘horse’ I chose for this ‘course’, and how this version of FDA was operationalised in this study.

Foucault argued that discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49) and thus that subject positions are constantly being constructed and reconstructed through discourses. Discourse is dynamic, it includes and excludes, brings certain issues to the fore or relegates them to the background and silences them, it renders some aspects more or less important, and enacts what is considered legitimate and worthy of attention. Discourse serves to construct subject positions which participants are able to take up or reject.

The purpose of FDA is not to draw solutions from the analysis, but rather to suggest alternative relationships to the regimes of truth employed in the discourse. Drawing on

Foucault's approach, this kind of discourse analysis seeks "to dissect, disrupt and render the familiar strange" (Graham, 2005, p. 4). FDA attempts to discover what discourse allows people to do and be. Regimes of truth permit certain patterns of interaction and exclude others. FDA examines how power and resistance are initiated within and through these discourses.

The FDA in this study focused on the interactions between the participants in the critical reflection sessions (see Wetherell, 1998). The focus was on how power practices were manifested in the interactions between the participants, and what effects these practices had. Foucault emphasised a focus on the micro-physics of power, and on how the techniques and strategies utilised by individual subjects are appropriated and colonised to produce macro-level discourses and systems of domination (Foucault, 1980d). Further, as power and resistance co-constitute each other, an analysis of power relations necessarily involves a study of resistance (Foucault, 1982). The analysis therefore not only examined the power effects of dominant perspectives, but also the instances of resistance to these power plays, where the participants refused to be defined by the prevailing apparatus.

The analysis focused on establishing "what characterises the discursive worlds participants inhabit" and the implications of these "for possible ways of being" (Willig, 2008, p. 82). Parker (1992) emphasised that discourses make possible different and particular types of self; he wrote, "the discourse is hailing us, shouting 'hey, you there' and making us listen as a certain type of person" (Parker, 1992, p. 9). In Foucauldian terms, what forms of subjectivity did the discourse afford, and how did participants take up or reject these constructions of their selves?

To try to address this question, Thomson (2011, p. 1) suggested asking the following of the data:

- What is being represented here as a truth or as a norm?
- How is this constructed? What 'evidence' is used? What is left out? What is foregrounded and backgrounded? What is made problematic and what is not? What

alternative meanings/explanations are ignored? What is kept apart and what is joined together?

- What interests are being mobilised and served by this and what are not?
- How has this come to be?
- What identities, actions, practices are made possible and/or desirable and/or required by this way of thinking/talking/understanding? What are disallowed? What is normalised and what is pathologised?

Willig (2008) also attempted to provide guidance for FDA by suggesting the following steps (adapted below):

1. *Identification of the discursive constructions* – where the researcher identifies the implicit and explicit references to the discursive object.
2. *Identification of discourses* – where the researcher attempts to identify the wider discourses wherein the discursive constructions are located.
3. *Identification of the functions of discourses* (action orientation) – whereby the researcher focuses on what the construction achieves within the text, asking “[w]hat is gained from constructing the object in this particular way at this particular point within the text?” (Willig, 2008, p. 116).
4. *Identification of subject positionings*. Drawing on the work of Davies and Harré (1999), Willig highlighted that “discourses construct *subjects* as well as objects and, as a result, make available positions within networks of meaning that speakers can take up (as well as place others within)” (Willig, 2008, p. 116). Thus, the researcher should focus on how the discourses serve to position the subjects in and of the discourse.
5. *Identification of opportunities for action* (practice) – requires the researcher to explore the way in which the discourses, and the positions of the subjects within those discourses, permit or forbid them to engage in certain practices.
6. *Identification of subjectivities* – whereby the researcher explores the ways of being and seeing that are afforded by these discourses and positionings.

These steps are not necessarily linear or sequential, but rather iterative as they serve to construct the meanings being made of the data, at each stage. The analysis feeds into the

analysis, creating expanding spirals of construction and co-construction, always within a discursive context. The research report is itself a discursive construction, and the gaze of the researcher is a form of interpretation, in that it selects certain aspects as worthy of enquiry and marginalises others.

Given the dynamic nature of discourses, and speakers' and researcher's roles in their construction and co-construction, I found it necessary to move towards a pragmatic approach where I considered three levels of analysis; these are described below.

5.8.1 Levels of analysis

In her guide to approaching FDA, Graham (2011) advised looking for 'statements' which perform the function of formulating an object (she named this - identification). This is followed by understanding how the objects (constructed by the statements) have come to be recognisable as they are, that is, "trace the processes involved in their constitution" (Graham, 2011, p. 670). This was named recognition. The last phase is to trace back to the knowledge/power field that makes the statement intelligible and meaningful (classification).

The first level of analysis, in the current research, was concerned with the subjects that were constructed in the text. For this study, the subjects were the objects of interest. The overarching subject was the service-learning student, and the analysis focussed on the ways in which this subject was constructed and positioned through the discourse. (Graham's (2011) phases of identification and recognition).

The second level of analysis focussed on how wider discourses were deployed to construct certain subjects and the consequences of this deployment. This second level of analysis located the constructions of the students within broader discourses, and explored the consequences for subjectivity. (Graham's (2011) phase of classification).

The third level of analysis analysed the strategies and tactics that were employed in the discourses to effect these positions and subjectivities. To this end Wetherell (1998) and Baxter's ideas were utilised for the analysis.

Wetherell (1998, p. 395) argued that:

[P]ost-structuralist theorists, with their more global view, rarely have their noses pressed up against the exigencies of talk-in-interaction. Rarely, are they called on to explain how their perspective might apply to what is happening right now, on the ground, in this very conversation.

She proposed that in order to better understand positionings and how they are brought about in talk and text, we should examine the variability in the accounts presented. She argued for exploring the inconsistent and contradictory versions that were presented in the text and to ask, “why this utterance here?” (p. 402). She advised identifying the “interpretive repertoires” (p. 400) that were utilised by the speakers, in other words the speakers’ means of making sense in conversations, “the common sense which organises accountability and serves as a back-cloth for the realisation of locally managed positions in actual interaction” (p. 400). Interpretive repertoires are useful devices in conversation, as they ensure that one phrase (e.g. disadvantaged community) “evokes for listeners the relevant context of argumentation-premises, claims and counter-claims” (p. 401). She therefore argued for an approach that enabled consideration of the contexts (both micro and macro, immediate and historical) of conversation, alongside the repertoires and positioning made available in the talk.

Baxter (2002) took up Wetherell’s (1998) call for a more inclusive approach and proposed post-structural discourse analysis (PDA). Her approach took cognisance of how shifting power relations between and within speakers are negotiated through competing discourses and result in contradictory subjectivities. She furthered argued that the contexts of talk are negotiated through discourse (constituted in the talk) and not outside of it, and that shifting positions with different power effects are made available in this process.

She provided an exemplar of PDA where she conducted both a “denotative microanalysis” of transcribed text and then a “connotative macro-analysis” which drew on more contextual data (Baxter, 2002, p. 833). She concluded that:

PDA provides new possibilities not only for understanding how language constructs subject identities and for learning how speech is produced, negotiated and contested within specific social contexts, but also for making

sense of the relative powerlessness or 'disadvantage' experienced by silenced or minority groups. (Baxter, 2002, p. 839)

The third level of analysis therefore focused on talk in interaction and its effects on available subject positions, and the possibilities of resisting these.

5.8.2 The mechanics of the data analysis process

In practice data analysis consisted of watching and listening to the recordings of the sessions, whilst re-reading and checking the transcripts. Following this I applied Willig's (2008) six step processes by coding the data in terms of how the object (the service-learner) was being constructed in the text, and the implications of these constructions for subjectivity, positioning and practice. The broader discourses within which this talk was happening were also identified. This six step process was followed for each session, and written up as a narrative for each session. Whilst processing the data in this manner, I also noted interesting/awkward moments in the interactions, for further analysis.

Having identified the various constructions of the service-learner I then organised these thematically, with two iterations of these themes being produced, before using a more poststructuralist lens which involved closer scrutiny of the subjectivities and the binaries apparent in the data. The contradictions in the data were examined to establish the subject positions available to the participants in the process.

The final level of analysis then involved returning to those awkward or interesting moments that I had previously noted and analysing these in terms of determining what act the speakers were performing, what interpretive repertoires they were drawing on to what effect, and what the implications of these actions were for the interaction.

This analysis resulted in the development of three results chapters. The first results chapter provides the details of the kinds of subjects that were constructed in the service-learning process, and the contradictory subjectivities they afforded. The second results chapter then describes the two main discourses within which the subjects were constructed, and how they were deployed. It provides a collage of evidence for each discourse and then focusses

on the struggle between these discourses in this context. The final results chapter then looks at the strategies and tactics that were employed in the interactions between the participants in the process, and with what effect. Through these three chapters the research questions were explored and addressed.

5.9 Trustworthiness

As has already been discussed above, post-structuralist research troubles traditional notions of validity, with their claims to truth. Discourses of validity prescribe the parameters of good and bad research, and are therefore inappropriate for post-structural research, where such objective claims hold no substance (Burr, 2003). Lather (1994) proposed “transgressive validity” where she argued that validity was an “apparatus for observing the staging of the poses of methodology, a site that ‘gives to be seen’ the unthought in our thought” (p. 676). She therefore argued for a validity that would incite discourses towards a more critical social science. From this perspective, validity is therefore about opening up research practices, to make visible the taken for granted practices in method, and the creation of meaning through language.

Within this whirlpool of authority and counter-authority (in relation to validity) the poststructuralist researcher can employ various strategies to ensure quality research. Firstly, the theoretical coherence of the study is important. The researcher needs to demonstrate a good understanding of the conceptual framework, resulting in coherence in the study across method, analysis and interpretation.

In addition Warren and Karner (2005, p. 7) recommend a visible and transparent “commitment to representing the people and settings being studied as fully as possible”. To enable this a thick descriptive analysis should be provided to explain to the reader the plausibility of the interpretation. The researcher should provide details of how texts were selected and analysed. By providing the textual data and a detailed account of analysis the reader is able to judge the ‘validity’ of the research claims. This study also drew on previous research in related fields in education to guide the data analysis process (e.g. Baxter, 2002, Öhman, 2010). A detailed account of the research process has also been provided.

The trustworthiness of the study has hopefully been enhanced through critical engagement with the literature and data, consultation with peers and my supervisor and through adopting a reflective stance (Silverman, 2000). Although the transferability of the findings of the study may be limited by the single case study design, transferability was not the aim of the research. The aim of the study and this method was to trouble existing notions of service-learning and critical reflection by using the data from one service-learning course.

Rolfe argues:

Whereas a rigorous approach suggests a close and rigid adherence to Method, the ironists promote flexibility and reflexivity. Rather than tying themselves to a predetermined method, they will attempt to respond to the ongoing challenges presented by the messy reality of the research project. (Rolfe, 2006, p. 13)

Trustworthiness therefore also involves the researcher's reflexivity on her roles, subjectivities and positionings, and the messiness of their intertwining. Ultimately, as the researcher is both the reader and producer of the discourses, the research product is an account, a story tentatively produced by the researcher within a particular discursive context. Ultimately, the trustworthiness of the research is judged by the reader, and the usefulness of the study to him/her, within his/her notion of 'truth' (Rolfe, 2006).

5.10 Ethical considerations

The ethics of the research can be considered at three different levels: post-structuralist ethics, the ethics of practitioner/insider research, and lastly, pragmatic ethical considerations.

Post-structuralist ethics and a Foucauldian concept of ethics require that the researcher practices self-mastery through technologies of the self (Macias, 2012). Foucault (1994, p. 286) proposed ethics as "a way of being and of behaviour". Rabinow (1994, p. xxxv) explained it as "a distinctive form of intellectual practice, a singular form of critical thought". Thus, ethical practice requires that the researcher recognise herself as a subject, and that she is in the process of becoming both in and through the research process. The recognition of this subjectivity foregrounds the situatedness of the researcher and her account.

Foucault also recommended a commitment to *égarement*, or intellectual wandering, and self-detachment (Rabinow, 1994). These concepts require the researcher to accept that she does not have a god view, and that her knowledge claims are bound up in power/knowledge regimes, where other power/knowledge regimes may be equally as plausible. Foucault (1994) advised trying to detach oneself from the regime of truth through which the researcher is currently constructed, and to detach from oneself the same regime, in order to consider other possible discourses, explanations and ways of being. Employing these tactics does not render one outside of a power/knowledge regime, but it reminds us to be mindful of how we are being constructed through that regime, and it therefore offers possibilities for things to be understood otherwise. The ethical Foucauldian researcher therefore makes tentative claims about her observations and reflects on the power effects that are part of the research process.

Power effects are also the most salient ethical issue in *practitioner/insider* research. Authors in this area express concerns regarding dual relationships and coercion when one conducts research on one's own practice (Holian & Coghlan, 2013; MacLean & Poole, 2010; Mercer, 2007). In the current research, the researcher was both instructor/lecturer and researcher and participant, and the students were learners and participants. Given the power effects inherent in student-teacher relationships, I needed to be aware of the possibility of coercion where students felt compelled to agree to participate. Fortunately, the course was an elective course, where students had many other options to consider to complete their honours degree. Secondly, the students were given the option of completing the course requirements without participating in the critical reflection discussions, which were the source of data for the study. As the students were not asked to participate in individual interviews or a focus group discussion about the course, the effects of coercion or bias as a result of dual roles did not relate to these kinds of data collection. I do recognise, however, that the students' responses may have been tempered by the knowledge that the sessions were being recorded and used for research purposes. The power effects of my role as researcher are intertwined with those invoked by my role as instructor and are part of the focus of this study. Guidelines for insider/practitioner research advise the researcher to try to create some distance during the research process, by hiring a research assistant to

conduct interviews, for example. This was not possible or desirable in this research, firstly, because of my role as instructor and the nature of the data, and secondly, because, from a post-structuralist perspective, any notion of 'distance' would be an illusion.

In terms of pragmatic ethical considerations, Wassenaar and Mamotte's (2012) principles and their application to the study are discussed below.

- The principle of *collaborative partnership* was not employed in this study, as the participants were not consulted in the development of the study. As this was a conceptual project, the student participants were not involved in the design. They were, however, participants in the implementation of the study, as without their collaboration, data collection would not have been possible.
- The principle of *social value* was addressed in the study, as the research aimed to assist in developing the service-learning field by offering a conceptual lens for practice that may help practitioners and researchers to reflect on their own practices. Should this reflection bring about improvements in course design and delivery, future students would benefit from these changes.
- *Scientific validity* – every attempt has been made to ensure rigour in the conceptualisation and design of the study, through using a sound conceptual and theoretical base and recognised research methods.
- *Fair selection of participants* – the sample for the study was those students to whom the research question could be applied. The offer to participate was extended to all the honours students. Those who self-selected to be on the course became the participants.
- *Favourable risk/benefit ratio* - there was no benefit to the participants as a result of their participation. At the same time, there was equally very little risk of harm, as the focus was on an already existing educational process. The issue of beneficence extends to future service-learning students in courses, not only in South Africa but internationally, as has been indicated above. It is hoped that some small benefit to the service-learning community will derive from the study, including raising the profile of South African research in this area.

- *Independent ethics review* – the proposal for the research was submitted to and approved by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at UKZN (Protocol reference number HSS/0450/011) (Appendix 3).
- *Informed consent* – the participants were consulted regarding their involvement in the research process and the recording of the reflection sessions. The purpose of the study was made clear to the students and no deception was necessary. Students signed informed consent forms (see Appendix 4) and did not indicate a difficulty with the process. At no stage was there a request that the recording devices be turned off.
- *Ongoing respect for participants* – the participants were informed that they could withdraw at any stage and an alternative to the group discussion sessions would be put in place in that instance. Confidentiality was maintained by allocating the participants pseudonyms and removing identifying information from extracts cited. The participants were also informed that the focus of the study was on the nature of the interactions between us, and not on them as individuals. It was explained that reporting of results would be on the group processes, and thus no individual person would be the target of the research. Informed consent forms were stored separately from the recordings and transcriptions. The data is stored in a password-protected file on my laptop, and on a backup drive.

5.11 Limitations

There are numerous critiques directed at those who research their own practice. In the main, these have to do with the ‘subjectivity’ of the research. A post-structuralist perspective dilutes this objection by proposing that all research is subjective to some degree, but not necessarily to the same degree.

Critiques of insider research also concern access, intrusiveness, familiarity and rapport (Mercer, 2007). With regard to access, it is argued that insider research ensures easier access to participants and the study site. In this study, despite the supposed ease of access, only five students signed up for the course and agreed to participate in the research. The counter-argument, with regard to access, is the difficulty of separating the research from everyday life that occurs at the site. For this study, only the recorded sessions formed the

data source for the analysis. However, the leakage between everyday life and other roles is evident in the transcripts, where there are many references to instances occurring outside the reflection sessions, and in relation to other roles and relationships.

Intrusiveness refers to the ways in which the insider alters the research process, through performing their normal everyday role. In this study, as the data was from everyday teaching practices, it was assumed that the researcher would influence the research process as the instructor of the course. It would be nonsensical to try to disentangle these roles, as they were part of the power effects observed in the sessions. However the presence of the recording equipment, as an observing other, and the intrusiveness of that other should be noted. The interactions between the participants (including myself) can then be understood as performative. This is discussed more in the results chapters.

Familiarity concerns the manner in which the researcher's understanding of the context influences the results of the research. As per the issue of intrusiveness, this familiarity was part of the dynamics in the data being analysed. I have also endeavoured to be transparent about the relationships and requirements in the setting.

Lastly, *rappport* concerns the credibility that the insider already has at the site, which some argue promotes candour, whilst others argue inhibits disclosure. Once again, this issue was part of the data and analysis, as the credibility of the instructor and the candour of the participants were negotiated in the sessions.

As mentioned above, only five students signed up for the service-learning course. This obviously created a different dynamic than if more students had enrolled. However, as this study was investigating the interactions between people, the intimate nature of a small class allowed the governing practices to become more obvious. The data set that was available for analysis consisted of 12 hours of audio- and video-recorded interaction between six participants.

Lastly, a critique levelled at post-structuralist research, and Foucauldian research in particular, is its inability to provide an 'answer'. This critique stems from a lack of understanding of the paradigm, which does not intend to provide solutions, but instead tries to investigate how things could be otherwise.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the challenges of a post-structuralist 'method' and the consequences thereof for analysis, ethics and trustworthiness. It has defended the use of insider case study research. It has also provided an account of the context, the process and the participants. The intention of this chapter was to provide a transparent account of the situatedness of the researcher and the process of the research. The results of the first level of analysis of the data are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

The kinds of subjects constructed in the service-learning process

6.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a respite from the infinite regress of post-structuralism and reports on the results of the first level of analysis. This analysis was done following my adoption of a Foucauldian lens, and prior to the development of the literature review. I therefore viewed the data with a pastoral power frame in mind, but did not have the research of other service-learning practitioners in mind when I developed the descriptions of various subjectivities provided below. Having realised the multiple and contradictory subject positions the service-learners were expected to occupy through this course, it was interesting to read about the more complex perspectives about service-learning students' development, presented by Kiely (2004), Clayton and Ash (2004), Bursaw (2012), Gemnigani (2013) and Butterwick (2015). These authors tried to reflect the complicated experiences of students. It was Butterwick (2015) who emphasised the importance of equipping students to be able to hold two or more perspectives in tension. These tensions and contradictions were what struck me upon my immersion in the data.

This first results chapter addresses the first objective of the research, which was to explore the construction of the 'good citizen' through the critical reflection process in service-learning. Willig (2008) advised that the first step in FDA is identifying the implicit and explicit references to the discursive object in the text. For the purposes of this study, the service-learning student was the discursive object (and the subject). In order to address the first objective, the following questions were asked of the data: What kinds of subjects were constructed during the service-learning process? What purpose did these constructions serve?

In order to answer these questions, Graham's (2011) phases of identification and recognition were used, that is, examining how the object (the service-learning student) was constituted in the talk, and then tracing the processes utilised in their construction. In addition to this, Willig's (2008) advice to focus on the functions of the discourses was

followed. I thus focused on what was gained from constructing the service-learning student “in this particular way at this particular point within the text?” (Willig, 2008, p. 116). Finally, Willig’s (2008) focus on identifying subject positionings was utilised, by examining how the constructions served to position the service-learning students in the discourse. An examination of the broader discourses in which the discussions were located is covered in more detail in next chapter. An examination of the strategies and tactics used in the interaction follows thereafter.

This chapter thus remains mainly at a descriptive level, drawing on themes to describe the kinds of subjects that the service-learning programme sought to produce, and what appeared to have been constructed during the course. The subject positions are arranged dilemmatically as binaries, and these are explored in more detail. First, the desired (desirable) subjectivities are described in terms of the course objectives; thereafter, a brief explanation of each session is provided in order to contextualise the extracts which are included in the latter part of the chapter. The last part of the chapter focuses on describing the possible subjectivities, and how they are constructed in the context of different binaries.

6.2 Desired subjects

The course guide presented the objectives for the course (see Appendix 1), which described what the course was hoping to achieve. These were as follows:

Anticipated outcomes:

Through participating in this module, students are expected to achieve:

- An understanding of community psychology in the context of the broader discipline of psychology.
- An appreciation of the core values that underpin community psychology.
- An understanding of the potential role of the psychologist in communities.
- An understanding of the different methods of intervention in community psychology.
- A more critical understanding of the concept of empowerment.
- A deeper understanding of working in diverse communities.
- Skills in the development of a community-based intervention.
- A critical understanding of ethical issues in community psychology.

These objectives were provided to the students in writing, and were discussed in the first session. The objectives focus on academic development (various areas of understanding and critique in psychology, community psychology and ethics), skills development, and the development of core values. The main focus (given the emphasis in the above) was on the academic development of the students in relation to the field of community psychology.

Given that the course was developed in the absence of a Foucauldian lens, there was no explicit focus on the development of specific subjects through the programme. Upon reflection, however, from the outset, the agenda for the course was clear in terms of producing subjects who were academically fluent and critical; subjects who were skilled enough to implement an intervention; subjects with a particular value and ethical orientation; and lastly, developmental subjects who would gain various kinds of understandings and approaches during the process. The goals as stated construct critically knowledgeable subjects, skilled subjects, ethical subjects and developmental subjects.

6.3 Brief summary of sessions

The sessions described below took place over the course of a semester (i.e. 13 weeks). The sessions were spaced depending on the students' other demands and activities.

Session 1:

In the first session, the students were oriented to the course and to the tasks expected of them. There was consultation with the students about how to proceed and about how assessment would occur. Different aspects of the course were discussed and negotiated. For some students, this was their first exposure to service-learning. During this session, the students were allocated into their groups by randomly drawing names; one group consisted of two students, Elle and Kate, whilst the other group consisted of three students, Anna, Lisa and Mary. The students were allocated schools to contact and proceed with the service-learning.

Session 2:

In the second session, the students reported on their experiences in their community sites. The students had all been for at least one orientation visit to try to negotiate their roles and returned full of excitement, enthusiasm and ideas. In some instances, they felt a bit overwhelmed by the responsibility and were uncertain how to proceed. For others, it was a journey into the unknown (e.g. their first visit to township contexts), and they reported on this with amazement and surprise.

Session 3:

In the third session, the students had differing reports of their experiences. One team reported on the struggles and challenges they were encountering, mostly centred on staff at the community site appearing disinterested or apathetic. The possible reasons for this were discussed and debated. The critical issue of buy-in from community members was highlighted. The second team reported on their, apparently more successful, experience of facilitating workshops at the school. The role of the educators at the site was examined and the issue of sustainability of interventions raised. The first team of students appeared to be stuck and frustrated in their work.

Session 4:

Following the previous session, readings were prescribed in an attempt to help the students who were expressing frustration. These were discussed in detail. The students reported that these were useful and they seemed to shift to a new level of awareness. These papers seemed to provide some relief to students, as they related to the content and expressed feeling better about their own experiences.

Session 5:

During the fifth session, I shared stories of other kinds of community experiences which were systemic interventions. The session proceeded to focus on the role of community psychologists, drawing on the prescribed readings. The two groups discussed their experiences which were contrasting – whilst one group appeared to have reached an

impasse, the other group had moved into a more philosophical approach, adjusted their expectations and were focussed on building relationships at their site.

Session 6:

During this session, the students were fairly subdued. A lot of the session was dedicated to establishing the role of the community psychologist (as described in the prescribed readings) and comparing this with their experiences. Although many roles were offered and discussed, the students were still very limited in terms of what they felt they could actually do or achieve at the site, given the context. There was some level of resignation with regard to this.

Session 7:

This session followed a break of a couple of weeks. Time was therefore spent catching up what had been happening at their sites. The discussion also focused on power, which came from the readings that were prescribed for the session. As the students were preparing to leave the community sites, a more philosophical tone emerged, as well as justifications for why they had not achieved more; there was talk of guilt and conscience about unmet objectives. The students also reflected on their own development and their increased capacity to tolerate uncertainty and to be flexible.

Session 8:

This was the last session for the course and the discussion was about how to end with communities in an appropriate manner. There was a lot of discussion of unmet goals and objectives and a lack of achievement of tangible outcomes. Much time was spent discussing this, and most of the discourse seemed to be about justifying their position and defending their perceived lack of achievement. There was also discussion of the meaning of the course to the students and myself, and how it felt to end the process.

6.4 Complicated subjects

There were a number of contrasting subjectivities that were constructed in the sessions. Although these seemed to follow a developmental trajectory, they continued to appear and

disappear in the different sessions, and thus, any subject could be present at any stage of the process and in coexistence with a contrasting subjectivity. These various subjectivities, and how they were constructed in the talk, are described below.

6.4.1 The enthusiastic subject

The extracts presented below highlight the construction of service-learning as something exciting to be involved in, and the service-learner as caught up in, and co-constructing, the enthusiasm. There were many references in the talk, across the sessions, to either being 'excited' or the work as 'exciting'.

For example, in session one, the students were discussing the flexibility of this kind of approach to learning, and their enthusiasm for a less rigid approach to academia:

- 618 *Anna: Ja so I (.) I think what meeting afterwards which he said would be nice*
 619 *because then they can say well this worked this didn't work can you rather do*
 620 *this next time (...) so °ja (.) quite excited°*
 621 *Lisa: It's nice also I feel it's not fixed and set in stone [(.) you work from]*
 622 *Carol: [What you going to be*
 623 *doing] every week*
 (Session 2)

The talk here was about how service-learning was "nice" (line 618) and Anna softly stated that she was "ja (.) quite excited" (line 620). Their responses to this new endeavour positioned them as cautiously (the pause, the low volume) excited and the work as flexible. Lisa's statement that it is not "fixed and set in stone" (line 621) also positioned them to be allowed to learn from the process.

In the extract below, the students were referring to feeding back about their experiences, and my response served to construct this as something I was eager and excited to hear about:

- 50 *Mary: = I was talking to someone else about it I was talking to V*[[fellow*
 51 *honours student]] about it I'm like (.) I don't know if [I've reported to Carol ()]*
 52 *Carol: [NO (.) YOU HAVEN'T (.)]*
 53 *and I've been dying to know (.) I have to hold myself back*
 54 *Mary: Cos she said did you tell Carol (.) I was like I can't remember*
 55 *Carol: No (.) a::nd (.) um*
 56 *Elle: We had a [meeting this morning]*
 57 *Kate: [We went today] ja*

58 *Carol: Okay*
 59 *Anna: And then we went yesterday as well*
 60 *Carol: Okay*
 61 *Mary: Oh kay*
 62 *Carol: So you*
 63 *Anna: Enlightening*
 64 *Carol: Okay*
 65 *Kate: He he*
 66 *Anna: This is positively [and negatively ()]*
 67 *Carol: [Mysterious (.) mysterious]*
 68 *Elle: Ours is also getting exciting*
 (Session 7)

In this extract, the students were excited to report on their experiences, and I joined with the creation of this excitement by indicating that I had had to hold myself back from enquiring - in my loud pronouncement of “NO YOU HAVEN’T” (line 52) - and that I was “dying” (line 53) to know what had been happening with them. Five of the seven participants participated in this talk, which can be understood as a ‘tease’, with the students not revealing to me what they had been doing, and each student in turn prolonging this disclosure, for example, Mary said “Oh kay” (line 61), drawing out the exchange to the extent that I proclaimed “mysterious (.) mysterious” (line 67). This playful enjoyment of their position of knowing and of me positioned as not-knowing indicated that this was a pleasurable interaction. Elle confirmed this positive tone when she stated, “Ours is also getting exciting” (line 68). Enthusiasm was also evident in the overlapping talk, truncated sentences and laughter.

My eagerness to hear about their experiences (“dying” (line 1162)) was also evident in the extract below, from session four, where their excitement was again conveyed in the loudness of the proclamations and the overlapping speech.

1160 *Carol: So I recommended that they just go to the school and spend time (.)*
 1161 *getting to know some of the educators (.) spend time in the classrooms (.)*
 1162 *how did it go yesterday I’ve [been dying to hear]*
 1163 *Elle: [It was (..)] so nice*
 1164 *Kate: WOOOOOOOOO*
 1165 *Anna: ELLE’S LIKE I WANNA BE A TEACHER:::*
 (Session 4)

In the talk, Anna indicated her lack of readiness for psychological practice and how she viewed the service-learning as an opportunity to explore this. I tried to respond but was interrupted by Mary who pointed out that they may feel “inadequate” (line 1019), which I extended to feeling “overwhelmed” (line 1021), and a sense of not knowing (“don’t know what I’m doing” (line 1023)). The group’s response to this talk was an “Mmm” (line 1022) of agreement. The use of laughter at the end of my warnings may have been an attempt to soften the blow, or lighten the mood. This is serious talk (as opposed to the enthusiastic talk described above), which served to position them as inadequate, overwhelmed and not-knowing.

The excerpt below is also from session one, where once again I positioned the students as overwhelmed, this time in relation to working with disadvantaged communities:

- 1041 *Carol: Exactly (..) so don't be so surprised if you feel overwhelmed and also in:*
 1042 *(.) if you haven't had experience in impoverished communities that's also*
 1043 *often very overwhelming*
 1044 *Lisa: It is*
 1045 *Mary: Ja (.) just seeing people*
 1046 *Anna: And heartbreaking*
 1047 *Carol: Yes*
 1048 *Elle: Uh you just you get like this (..) like hits you with like a wall (.) and you*
 1049 *just like oh my gosh people are actually living like this*
 (Session 1)

The notion of being overwhelmed was reinforced by my use of the word twice in one statement. Lisa, Mary and Anna agreed, and Elle, who described this awareness as being “hit by a wall”(line 1048), added to the drama of these kinds of encounters. Through the talk, I positioned the students as possibly not aware (naïve) of the realities of working in communities. The students refuted this by indicating that they do in fact know about these things (“It is”(line 1044); “heartbreaking”(line 1046)); Elle’s statement was strongest in this regard, positioning her as aware and conscientised. The issue of being overwhelmed was, however, not refuted but was reinforced by Elle’s wall metaphor.

Throughout the sessions, there was often talk about the students being overwhelmed, mostly in relation to the demands of the work and the context. In session two, Elle talked

about the relief she experienced when she realised she did not have to take responsibility for everything that needed to happen at her community site:

- 913 *Elle: Which is a really nice feeling (.) we felt like (.) like we here (.) cos it was*
 914 *very overwhelming like I was very overwhelmed and I've been to like these*
 915 *school situations for so long and I was just feeling (.) so overwhelmed I was*
 916 *feeling (.) wow this task is huge =*
 917 *Carol: = It is huge =*
 918 *Elle: = And how are we supposed to [handle this] (.)*
 919 *Carol: [It is huge]*
 920 *Elle: And I was feeling like (.) like hhh I was feeling very claustrophobic and I*
 921 *was thinking like how are we going to do this [this thing is so huge]*
 (Session 2)

In this extract, Elle discussed how she felt in relation to the size of the task before her. In her talk, Elle used the term “overwhelming” (line 914) and then “overwhelmed” (line 915) twice, to reiterate how she was feeling. She also used the term “huge” (lines 916; 921) twice and reported feeling “claustrophobic” (line 920). I reinforced her sense of the enormity of the task by emphasising “it is huge” twice. Despite her experience (“I’ve been to like these school situations for so long” (lines 914-915)), she also indicated not knowing how to proceed by repeating “how are we supposed to handle this” (line 918) and “how are we going to do this” (line 921). Through the talk, Elle was positioned as overwhelmed, not-knowing, small and trapped by the demands of the service-learning. I did not offer her any relief from these positions, but reinforced her report.

These extracts also demonstrate the construction of an ‘other’, “the community”, “disadvantaged communities”, “people”, who are unfamiliar and whose strangeness is part of the reason for being overwhelmed.

The overwhelmed subject position allows the students to be inadequate to the “huge” task of working in ‘strange’ communities. It creates the conditions for failure to be acceptable, and the need for support to be legitimised. It serves to normalise the feelings involved and creates a shared understanding between the participants that the kind of engagement the enthusiastic subject promotes is not always possible.

6.4.3 The frustrated subject

Related to the overwhelmed subject is the frustrated subject. Whilst the overwhelmed subject identifies the problem as located within her, the frustrated subject locates blame firmly in the other.

The extract below, from session five, occurred in the context of students' discussions about apparent inactivity and lack of initiative at their sites:

- 1711 *Anna: Honestly I've been feeling like I've got other things I need to do right now*
 1712 *Lisa: Ah me as well*
 1713 *Carol: So (.) [okay]*
 1714 *Lisa: [I'm frustrated] with this man (.) you have the books (.) go use the*
 1715 *books and put it on the table*
 1716 *((Overlapping talk – unclear))*
 1717 *Mary: It's like he literally wants us to go set up a reading corner and everything*
 1718 *[(.) it's crazy]*
 1719 *Lisa: [YES ha ha]*
 1720 *Carol: How do you move beyond this (.) how do you move beyond this (.) okay*
 1721 *Lisa: Help (.) anybody (.) got suggestions*
 (Session 5)

Anna, Lisa and Mary participated in this talk about difficulties at their site. Anna confessed her lack of interest, by claiming other priorities ("other things I need to do" (line 1711). She used the word "honestly" (line 1711) to indicate her truthfulness in this statement. Lisa agreed. Following Anna's confession, Lisa expressed her frustration with "this man" (line 1714), advising him to take action ("go use the books and put it on the table" (line 1714-1715)). Mary picked up on this complaint and extended it by highlighting what he expected **them** to do and how ludicrous this is ("it's crazy" (line 1718)); Lisa emphasised her agreement with a loud "YES" (line 1719) and laughter. I tried to move the conversation forward with "So" (line 1713), which I pick up later on with "How do you move beyond this" (line 1720) repeated twice. To which Lisa pleaded helplessness and requested assistance ("Help (.) anybody (.) got suggestions" (line 1721)).

This talk firmly locates the problem with "this man" (line 1714) and his crazy ideas. The overlapping talk indicates rapid participation, and possibly heightened emotion around this issue. In the talk, the students abdicate responsibility and argue that he (the other) has

above, a “So” (line 1594) and a call to action: “what do you think you need to do” (line 1594-1595).

The students thus co-constructed a frustrating, non-compliant, other who had driven them to frustration and agitation. Ironically, whilst arguing that one needs to be proactive in life, they presented themselves as immobilised by the behaviour of the other, and as reluctant to take responsibility (“I’m not negative” (line 1581)). There were quick exchanges and overlapping speech as they crafted together this position. My participation was limited to an attempt to contain their feelings and a question to get them to move forward. Anna indicated that the way forward was a change in attitude, but at the same time refuted this by positioning herself in opposition to the frustrating other: “why am I even doing this (.) why aren’t they doing it” (line 1597-1598).

The position of the frustrated subject thus makes it possible for the participants to abdicate responsibility for a lack of progress, and to blame the other, who is positioned as lacking initiative and possibly lazy. Through their talk, they separate themselves from this kind of position (“they” (line 1598)) and locate themselves on a superior plane, where they will “use it” (line 1585) if they “have it” (line 1585), and will do things for themselves. Being frustrated subjects also allows them to construct the requests from the site as illegitimate demands, where previously they may have been experienced as overwhelming responsibilities.

6.4.4 The enlightened subject

Anna’s comment above regarding a change of attitude is a good prelude to a further subject that was constructed during the sessions. In grappling with being enthusiastic, overwhelmed and frustrated, students developed the position of having insight, or enlightenment.

In the excerpt below, the same students who were battling with their frustration above, recount their experience with a community counsellor who came to speak at their community site, and who appeared to have an impact on them.

998 Carol: *Why (.) why was the encounter with N*[[speaker]] so inspirational for*
 999 *you all*
 1000 Anna: *She's just inspirational Carol she is (.) she just has this*
 1001 Carol: *But what did she teach you about (.) you were saying it helped you to*
 1002 *understand why you were there (.) what was =*
 1003 Lisa: *= Because*
 1004 Anna: *Her approach*
 1005 Lisa: *You don't have to have a master's degree in psychology to help people (.)*
 1006 *she's an HIV counsellor for the past ten years and it just goes back to (.) like*
 1007 *helping the human condition (.) like you don't have to be this high and mighty*
 1008 *person with this (.) fancy title (.) and (..) she didn't have to come with us (.) we*
 1009 *were there for like two hours (.) we took two (.) two and a half hours of her*
 1010 *time (.) and she was (.) cos when we driving back I was thinking oh my word I*
 1011 *hope she's I hope she isn't late (.) I hope she doesn't have appointments and*
 1012 *everything (.) but it's just (.) let me come and do it (.) and I phoned on Monday*
 1013 *(.) please can you help me this is what we need (.) and (.) four o'clock*
 1014 *afternoon yes you can like*
 1015 Group: *[Ja::]*
 1016 Lisa: *[People] are so willing and then (.) it just (.) it changed my whole*
 1017 *perspective (.) and it just made me realise we need (.) in as much as we get*
 1018 *frustrated and is I'm so critical of everything there (.) but (..) it's children (.)*
 1019 *that you trying to*
 1020 Carol: *Assist [ja]*
 1021 Lisa: *[Help]*
 (Session 7)

In the talk, the students constructed a different kind of 'other'; this other was willing, flexible, and devoted to her calling. Lisa's long narrative about N*'s willingness, humility and availability presented a detailed argument for this amazing 'other'. Anna emphasised that it was the person of this other ("She's just inspirational" (line 1000)), and her approach, that made her inspirational. The other that was constructed in the talk here is in complete opposition to the other of the frustrated subject. Lisa acknowledged that this experience of this willing other "changed my perspective" (lines 1016-1017), it "made me realise" (line 1017) and refocussed her on her goal of helping children.

The subject position of the enlightened subject is juxtaposed with the frustrated subject. The enlightened subject is humbled by the other; she is reminded that "you don't have to be this high and mighty person with this (.) fancy title" (lines 1007-1008). This is in contrast with the frustrated subject who positioned herself as superior to those who lacked initiative. The amount of talk generated about this other is also in contrast to the very limited

references to the other in the previous excerpts (“they” and “this man”). This is another worthy of conversational space. The enlightened subject is therefore cognisant of her place and her goals, which are larger than the petty frustrations which consume the frustrated subject.

An enlightened subject is also constructed in the excerpt below, from session four, where Elle talked of an “epiphany” (line 1098), which resulted in her feeling liberated in her approach to her engagement with the community.

- 1096 Carol: *Um do you want to talk about the revelation that you have (.) you*
 1097 *called it a revelation*
 1098 Elle: *Our epiphany =*
 1099 Kate: *= Our epiphany*
 1100 Carol: *Oh*
 1101 Elle and Kate: *[He he he he he]*
 1102 Carol: *[You called it an epiphany]*
 1103 Lisa: *I wanna hear*
 1104 Mary: *I also want to hear*
 1105 Lisa: *I don't like Oprah don't say aha moment*
 (Session 4)

In the talk, I framed their experience as a “revelation” (lines 1096-1097), constructing it as a powerful realisation, with possible religious connotations. The students corrected me, and preferred to use the word “epiphany” (lines 1098; 1099), which was repeated by both students almost instantaneously. Lisa also re-phrased it by asking them not to term it as an “aha moment” (line 1105), which she likened to Oprah (Winfrey). All of these terms speak of a moment of powerful insight. Lisa and Mary indicate their eagerness to hear about this insight. The talk therefore constructs the students as capable of this kind of enlightenment.

Later in the same session, Elle revealed the nature of the epiphany:

- 1288 Elle: *But I also found that it was part of our (.) aha moment that Kate and I*
 1289 *had (.) our whole like (.) epiphany (.) was that we did go there with high*
 1290 *expectations of what short-term community based interventions such as*
 1291 *workshops could achieve (.) it was what we focused on doing as well (.) and*
 1292 *then we realised that (.) well*
 1293 Carol: *Relationship*
 1294 Kate: *Mmm*
 (Session 5)

In this excerpt, Elle described her realisation that their high expectations regarding what could be achieved in a short-term intervention were problematic. I suggested that the focus should be on “Relationship” (line 1293) rather than on workshops, and Kate murmured agreement. In the talk, Elle used the words “aha moment” (line 1288), “epiphany” (line 1289), and “realised” (line 1292), which all indicate some sort of enlightenment. In constructing their experience in this way, Elle positioned herself and Kate as reaching a new stage of knowledge from within which they were not previously operating.

The term “liberated” (line 1505) was also used in the talk to indicate a process of moving forward from previously restricting conditions.

- 1498 *Mary: Just to prepare that workshop I had to take myself back to my*
 1499 *12-year-old self (.) and for me that was challenging but at the same*
 1500 *time (.) it was like (.) it was a good reflection for me like (.) this was*
 1501 *where I was and (.) and this is where I've come to in my life (.) and to*
 1502 *share (.) that knowledge with someone always put yourself in their*
 1503 *shoes*
 1504 *Carol: Was it also liberating (.) like Elle was talking [just now about feeling*
 1505 *liberated]*
 1506 *Mary: [Ja for me]*
 1507 *Carol: Like you actually went and ran a workshop on [sexuality] like*
 1508 *Mary: [Yes]*
 1509 *Carol: Who would have imagined*
 1510 *Mary: [Like for me]*
 1511 *Lisa: [(Cos) it's] such a taboo in our culture [in our Indian families] to talk*
 1512 *about sex*
 1513 *Mary: [In our culture]*
 (Session 4)

In this account, Mary related her experience of running a workshop on sexuality with children at the community site. She emphasised that it was “challenging” (line 1499) for her. She differentiated herself from the others by emphasising “for me” (lines 1499; 1510). She also related the benefits of this kind of challenging experience, and that upon reflection, she could track her progress: “this was where I was and (.) and this is where I’ve come to in my life” (lines 1500-1501). She thus used the talk to demonstrate personal growth. I framed this growth as “liberating” (line 1504), linking it to something Elle had said earlier in the session. I then emphasised the importance of this action by using terms like “you actually” (line

1507) and “Who would have imagined” (line 1509). Lisa and Mary joined in this construction of this event as significant. Lisa used the term “taboo” (line 1511), which indicates that which is prohibited or forbidden, thus strengthening the significance of the talk of liberation. In this excerpt, there was also a lot of overlapping speech indicating the rapid pace used by the speakers, to intensify the importance of the event.

The enlightened subject is thus one who has moved to a new level of awareness, knowing and doing. Being positioned as enlightened infers the existence of others who are not enlightened, and a previous form of subjectivity where one was unenlightened. The enlightened subject therefore has a claim to a higher state of knowing and being. The enlightened subject has been freed from the previous restrictions on her being, enabling clearer vision and sense of purpose. This clarity of understanding may provide her with some distance from the preoccupations of the overwhelmed or frustrated subject or, alternatively, it may give her renewed vigour to pursue her goals. The enlightened subject is able to chart the way forward.

6.4.5 The guilty subject

The guilty subject was also present in the talk. This guilt related to having more (privilege), and doing less. The guilty subject expressed remorse at expectations not fulfilled and issues left unresolved at her community site.

The excerpt below is from session two, where the discussion was about community and community psychology, and problematising these terms. The students were discussing their responses to one of the prescribed readings when Kate introduced the issue of race:

- 297 *Kate: Is like (.) it's (.) it's sort of seen in a way that (.) because it's like usually*
 298 *white community psychologists going in to townships (.) and I think it's like (.)*
 299 *the effect of it is (.) that (.) it comes from a place where you trying to (.) and*
 300 *maybe that's also probably of why it's not recepted received as much (.) is*
 301 *because it's like (.) you tryna like un (.) you tryna feel better about what*
 302 *happened in the past*
 303 *Carol: Oh okay (.) the [okay the motivation]*
 304 *Kate: [Like how] ja (.) he says poor white me I don't know I can't*
 305 *remember the term he exactly*
 306 *Carol: White guilt*

307 *Kate: Ja*
 308 *Anna: Oh white guilt*
 309 *Carol: Ja*
 310 *Anna: He he*
 311 *Elle: But also (.) don't you also feel like (.) not necessarily only white people*
 312 *but it's the more privileged going into the under privileged*
 313 *Group: Ja*
 314 *Elle: It's the more privileged guilt (.) I found*
 315 *Anna: Ja*
 316 *Elle: Like (.) [example (.) I went to the school] with my watch yesterday*
 317 *Anna: [But that article was quite old]*
 318 *Elle: And it's a Guess watch (.) and the onl (.) the only time the one group of*
 319 *kids spoke to me was like (.) oh look you have a Guess watch (.) you have a*
 320 *Guess watch (.) oooo and I had to (.) and I felt so guilty [and I was like oh no*
 321 *it's not real it's] a fake watch*
 322 *Lisa: [You feel guilty for*
 323 *having that]*
 324 *Elle: And then I read well (.) and then like I reflected on reading cos I read the*
 325 *article before and I'm like (.) oh my gosh (.) I completely understand like (.)*
 326 *just a wa having a watch*
 327 *Carol: Ja*
 328 *Elle: Saying Guess and I'm now this privileged person =*
 (Session 4)

This piece of talk is interesting for a number of reasons. It is one of the places during the sessions where the issue of race needed to be negotiated between the participants, and not just at their community sites. It was also complicated by the nature of Elle's confession, and admission of guilt and fabrication.

Kate raised the issue of race and privilege and how these position white people in particular ways in communities, which may make it difficult for community-based interventions to be well received. She emphasised that acts of this kind in communities may be to ease the conscience of those who had previously been advantaged. She stated, "you tryna like un (.) you tryna feel better about what happened in the past" (lines 301-302). She did not identify with this position and used the pronoun "you" (line 301) to distance herself from this stance. Her use of the term "he says poor white me" (line 304) also indicated a lack of identification with this position. The many pauses in her talk, and the "it's like" (lines 298; 301) indicated that this was difficult for her to state. I acknowledged her attempt to question motives and named it "white guilt" (line 308), which Anna agreed with, with a

nervous laugh. Elle disputed the role of race and claims that it is rather privilege. She did this in the form of an appeal: “don’t you also feel like” (line 311). She used her past experience as evidence for her claim (“I found” (line 314)) and then went on to provide a detailed example from her current experience at the site. Anna reinforced the claim that the idea of white guilt may not be appropriate, by citing the datedness of the article Kate was referring to (“But that article was quite old” (line 317)). This overlapped with Elle’s defence, such that they were both refuting the ideas about race at the same time.

Elle’s defence included an admission of being dishonest about her watch to children at her community site in order to appease her guilt. The watch was a declaration of privilege which she tried to reject. Whilst she claimed that, upon reflection, she understood how having a watch may position one as privileged, she still seemed reluctant to accept this positioning: “and I’m now this privileged person” (line 328). Through her use of the term “now” (line 328) she indicates that she has been identified as someone she did not previously consider herself to be.

The guilty subject is also constructed around unmet expectations and disappointment at the community site. In the excerpt below, the students were discussing the difficulties of exiting their sites:

- 1313 *Elle: I said we were supposed to have finished with our course (.) before exams*
 1314 *Carol: Yes yes*
 1315 *Elle: But then there was that whole like lingering [well what is actually gonna*
 1316 *happen]*
 1317 *Kate: [Ja::: (...) it’s just]*
 1318 *like a face change*
 1319 *Carol: Ja disappointment*
 1320 *Group: Mmm*
 1321 *Elle: And we don’t actually know (.) how we want to leave as well*
 1322 *Carol: Interesting (.) that you feel guilty*
 1323 *Lisa: () guilty ((Very soft))*
 1324 *Kate: Ja*
 1325 *Lisa: But is that a bad thing =*
 1326 *Anna: = I feel guilty that I have that we haven’t done the flippen library but I*
 1327 *shouldn’t because that’s a resource*
 1328 *Carol: HA HA HA HA [ha ha]*
 1329 *Anna: [It’s like] maybe I should phone my dad maybe the*
 1330 *company will donate*

1331 Carol: *Ja ja ja (.) ja quick fix*
 1332 *((52.56 -53.00: Overlapping talk – unclear))*
 1333 Anna: *What it's all [about and what it's all about is soo:thing your conscience]*
 (Session 7)

The talk started with Elle expressing her concerns about what would happen at the site. Kate used the term “a face change” (line 1318) to indicate a lack of honesty in the context. I framed this as disappointment and the group agreed. Elle added a claim of uncertainty to the state of disappointment: “And we don’t actually know (.) how we want to leave as well” (line 1321). I framed this as feeling guilty and that this guilt was an object of interest. Lisa added an echoing “guilty” (line 1322) which was very softly spoken, and Kate added her agreement with “Ja” (line 1324). Lisa questioned whether a sense of guilt was necessarily a bad thing, and Anna interjected with the reason for her guilt (unaccomplished tangible outcomes) and a quick fix solution. My loud laughter accompanied Anna’s admission of guilt and the group dissolved into much overlapping talk. What can be heard from this talk is Anna’s conclusion that “what it’s all about is soothing your conscience” (line 1333).

The participants in the talk were trying to manage difficult feelings, trying to ease our consciences. This was attempted by claiming ignorance and uncertainty (“we don’t actually know” (line 1321)), by suggesting quick fixes (“I should phone my dad maybe the company will donate” (lines 1329-1330)), by sharing and processing the feelings together, and by reframing it as not bad: “is that a bad thing” (line 1325).

Being positioned as the guilty subject places responsibility on this subject for her oversights or neglected duties. In this context, it is also an admission of privilege and position relative to others. The guilty subject is able to express remorse and search for means to make amends, in order to ease her conscience. Adopting the position of the guilty subject is also rhetorical, in that once the subject has confessed her guilt, this closes the argument; she has admitted her wrongdoing. Being the guilty subject also constructs notions of atonement; the confession contains an unspoken request for pardon. As the participants shared this construction, this way of being was normalised, and no one was identified as the only guilty party.

6.4.6 The resigned subject

The resigned subject was constructed as a counterbalance to the guilty and frustrated subjects. The resigned subject was able to accept her own and others' limitations, and process these in a philosophical manner.

In the excerpt below, from session seven, Elle was discussing their plans for their last activity before leaving their site, and her peers commented on her relaxed attitude towards this event:

- 541 *Elle: Gonna try make it (.) really fun (.) colourful and outside the classroom*
 542 *Lisa: I think it's really cos like (.) the sense I'm getting is like you (.) and it's it's*
 543 *a it's a good learning lesson for me and to accept like (.) you can't always be*
 544 *in control (.) and it will happen (.) like and it and and (.) like I've seen it with*
 545 *our group work (.) from my perception that (...) in like we just have to trust*
 546 *that that things will happen and like it's so like refreshing that it's on Tuesday*
 547 *(.) and as Anna said like you'd be like freaking out I haven't done anything*
 548 *blah blah blah blah blah blah (.) but it it works because*
 549 *Kate: Mm*
 550 *Lisa: It it it (.) anything can change and it (.) you know what I mean so you*
 551 *willing to accept that (.) like (.) [you don't (.)] ja (.) [and that's very nice]*
 552 *Carol: [()]*
 553 *Mary: [() the the] that you so*
 554 *willing to be flexible*
 555 *Lisa: Ja*
 556 *Mary: And you like not stressed and stuff*
 557 *Elle: I didn't even think about it*
 (Session 7)

In the talk, Lisa tentatively suggested that Elle has reached a certain level of acceptance, which was a good thing. Her tentativeness was apparent in the use of the phrase “the sense I’m getting” (line 542), the many pauses and repeats of “it’s it’s a it’s” (lines 542-543). She also used the phrases “a good learning lesson for me” (line 543) and “I’ve seen it with our group work” (lines 544-545) to join with Elle in this experience, to indicate that they were in this together. The experience that they shared was acceptance, apparent in the phrases “and to accept like (.) you can’t always be in control” (lines 543-544), “it will happen” (line 544), and “we just have to trust that that things will happen” (lines 545-546). She commented a little later on Elle’s willingness to accept change, and Mary confirmed this by naming it flexibility, and pronouncing that Elle was “not stressed and stuff” (line 556). Elle

confirmed this construction of her attitude by indicating that becoming stressed and trying to control events had not crossed her mind (“I didn’t even think about it” (line 557)). There was a lot of overlapping speech following Lisa’s turn, which indicated agreement amongst Kate, Mary and Lisa. Lisa also pronounced judgement on Elle’s attitude, proclaiming it as good with “and that’s very nice” (line 551).

Lisa’s talk also indicated that Elle’s current behaviour was different from what may have occurred previously. She emphasised the word “Tuesday” (line 546) to indicate how close in time the event was; she drew on Anna as an ally (“as Anna said” (line 547)) before risking characterising Elle as someone who would previously have been concerned about not being well prepared. This was indicated in her use of the term: “you’d be like freaking out I haven’t done anything” (line 547). This was further extended by stating “blah blah blah blah blah” (line 548) indicating concern with (unnecessary) detail.

The Elle that was constructed in this talk was thus an Elle who had changed from being obsessed with detail and control, to one who was now more relaxed, flexible, accepting and trusting. Lisa joined with being more trusting by using the term “we” (line 545) in relation to this attitude. The turn to trust indicates a more philosophical approach. The other that was the object of this trust was not named, but the phrase “we just have to trust” (line 545) indicated that trusting something bigger and beyond oneself was a necessity (“have to” (line 545) means there is no other option).

The issue of trust is extended to “having faith” in the excerpt below, from session eight, where the students were again discussing departing from their community sites.

- 1181 *Elle: But it’s also with the S*[[teacher network]] (.) like coming to the end of*
 1182 *the year (.) like I so badly wish I could do it next year (.) and then I was just*
 1183 *thinking like (.) I don’t know how I’d be able to do it next year (.) I’m*
 1184 *exhausted*
 1185 *Anna: But that’s why we have to accept that there’s a time for everything in*
 1186 *life and that you actually (.) I think a huge part of it is being able to say okay*
 1187 *well we’ve done what we’ve done (.) now you actually need to let go and have*
 1188 *faith that someone else is going to come along (.) like and have faith that the*
 1189 *connections that we build (.) with N*[[speaker]] (.) with L* [[NGO]] whatever*
 1190 *it may be (.) with Ms M* (.) with E* hospital (.) will even if it’s one person in*
 1191 *the community that we never know of (.) and I think (.) that’s our (.) that’s our*

1192 *downfall in the sense that we do (.) we want this (.) he he like Mr K**
 1193 *[[principal of school]] wants to have his pretty library*
 1194 *Carol: [() you want to have something to show for your time]*
 1195 *[[((Overlapping speech - unclear))]]*
 1196 *Anna: We want to show and we want to be like (.) you know we did a good*
 1197 *job*
 1198 *Lisa: Mmm*
 1199 *Anna: Like (.) () on the [shoulder] [((Touches shoulder to indicate something*
 1200 *worn there))]*
 (Session 8)

In this piece of talk, Elle contrasted her deep desire (“so badly wish” (line 1182)) to continue to be involved in a community-based intervention with her incapacity to continue due to being “exhausted” (line 1184). Anna picked up on this desire to do more and proceeded to counterbalance the need for achievement with the need to have faith. Anna promoted a philosophical approach where “we have to accept” (line 1185) and where there is a “time for everything” (line 1185). She emphasised the need to “have faith” (lines 1186; 1187) twice in this talk. The object of this faith was not made explicit, but she spoke vaguely of “someone else” (line 1188), or “connections” (line 1189) or even “one person” (line 1190) who may come along. The references to faith and to a “time for everything” (line 1185) have religious connotations, but this is not specified in the talk. Both Elle and Anna pronounced closure on their involvement, but Elle declared herself not able (“I don’t know how I’d be able to do it” (line 1183)), and Anna declared, “we’ve done what we’ve done” (line 1187). Anna’s talk recognised the limitation of their intervention, and thus there was the need for something else to happen by faith. Despite advocating a philosophical approach, Anna highlighted the students’ need for achievement: “we did a good job” (line 1196) and “() on the [shoulder]” (line 1199) [Unfortunately, what she said there was inaudible but in the video she touched her shoulder to indicate something worn there.]

This talk is also significant in that Anna identified with a community member (“Mr K*” (line 1192)) whom the students had previously criticised for wanting to leave a legacy (a functional library) upon his retirement (he was previously referred to as “that man”). In the excerpt, she referred to him in a light-hearted manner: “we want this (.) he he like Mr K* [[principal of school]] wants to have his pretty library” (lines 1192-1193). Although she identified with him, “we want this” (line 1192) “like Mr

(line 78)), questioning whether in fact the students were forcing an “early ending” (line 79). In the query, I drew on prescribed reading (“he says” (line 78)) to strengthen the legitimacy of my query.

Lisa’s talk, and the other participants’ agreement, positions the community site as a child who needs to learn to become independent “for their own good” (line 73). Positioning the community sites in this way gives the students permission to depart and helps to ease their consciences about this departure.

Being resigned subjects enables the students to walk away from their work at, and their responsibilities to, their community sites. Adopting a philosophical approach, allows students to shift this responsibility to an unnamed other, or to spiritual processes that are beyond their control (stages of growth or phases of timing that they have no knowledge of). This allows them to close off the experience and return to their own lives with their guilt absolved and with an acceptance that they are only a small part of a much bigger picture. The construction of the community in a patronising or paternalistic way serves the same purpose. Here the resigned subject is able to draw on an “own good” (line 73) discourse, justifying that her departure will encourage the further development of communities towards independence.

This section introduced the complicated subjects that were constructed during the sessions, from the enthusiastic and excited subject who was determined to make a difference, to the overwhelmed subject who was stifled by the reality of the community contexts. These included the frustrated subject who grappled with a lack of ownership from community partners, or with dysfunctional systems, as well as the enlightened subject who was conscientised and liberated through her exposure to the real world. They also included the guilty subject, who once enlightened, became aware of her privilege, and her inability to effect the changes she desired, as well as the resigned subject who adopted a philosophical and possibly patronising approach, which absolved her from that guilt and enabled her to have closure. The subjectivities described provide a framework for depicting the service-learning subject constructed in this course. The next section attempts to provide more detail

by examining the binaries apparent in the data, which served to construct these complicated subject positions.

6.5 Contradictory subjectivities

The students were constructed in contradictory ways in the talk. The complexity of these subject positions was that the service-learners were constructed as being both kinds of subjects at the same time. For this reason, the binaries are presented below with an “and” and not a “versus”. Although the subjectivities were often juxtaposed, navigating the course required the students to manage the contradictions simultaneously.

6.5.1 Professional psychologists and little girls

In the sessions, the students were constructed as community psychologists, with expert skills in the discipline of psychology. At the same time, the students were also inexperienced little girls.

There are many instances in the talk of the students grappling with their professional identity. For example, in session one, the discussion was around the students possibly publishing an article about their experiences. At one point, this exchange took place:

- 661 *Anna: So it's like our experience [(as a) group]*
 662 *Carol: [Novice] community psychologists*
 663 *Lisa: Oh ja*
 664 *Carol: Experiences*
 665 *Anna: But can we call ourselves novice community psychologists*
 666 *Carol: Ja*
 667 *Elle: For real he he he*
 668 *Lisa: That's exciting*
 (Session 1)

I proposed that the students consider themselves “novice community psychologists” (line 662); Lisa agreed, but Anna remained sceptical about accepting the title until I confirmed it, whereupon they both proclaimed their excitement: “For real he he he” (line 667) and “That’s exciting” (line 668). The notions of titles and hierarchies of experience are part of an expert discourse which is discussed more in the next chapter. Suffice to say, through this

- 1817 Carol: [Ja]
 1818 Lisa: *So it's just not these three lil girls coming in and*
 1819 Mary: *It would be better for him to introduce us*
 (Session 6)

In this excerpt, the students were planning for a workshop at their community site and they emphasised the importance of the principal ("he" (line 1810)) introducing them so that they were not construed as "three lil girls" (line 1818). Lisa proposed that the introduction was made by someone else in order to avoid being disregarded by the participants; once she had made her argument, Mary agreed that this was a good idea.

This issue emerges again in the following session:

- 1174 Lisa: *Before we we we (.) we organised N*[[speaker]] (.) and even phoned*
 1175 *L*[[NGO]] we were talking about it (.) that (.) the reception we received on the*
 1176 *first visit was who are you like I felt like who are you young child to come here*
 1177 *and tell me how to do my job*
 (Session 7)

Lisa reported that she felt like she was perceived as a "young child" (line 1176) who was imposing on the community site. Her repetition of "who are you" (line 1176) serves to indicate her lack of authority in the context, and her positioning as a childish impostor.

Despite positioning the students as psychologists, in session three I also position them as inadequate by referring to them as "pipsqueaks", as per the excerpt below:

- 660 Anna: *Tsyoooh it's so many I mean we have 17 staff for 600 kids (.) it's so:: like*
 661 *you think about it and it's just*
 662 Carol: *The ratios*
 663 Anna: *I don't know how these people haven't jumped off a cliff*
 664 Carol: *Exactly (.) exactly*
 665 Anna: *I would have*
 666 Carol: *[And now here] come these pipsqueaks saying*
 667 Elle: *[And now we]*
 668 *((Breaks down into laughter and people talking over each other – unclear))*
 (Session 3)

Anna was relating the challenging context that the teachers work in, as well as her recognition of how difficult this must be: "I don't know how these people haven't jumped off a cliff" (line 663), and that she would not have coped: "I would have" (line 665) [jumped

known approaches (“asset based we not the expert” (line 1577- 1578)) to declare the other approaches inadequate and to promote a local psychology, that is firmly situated in context (“their own psychology” (line 1579)). Kate’s confusion (“Isn’t that good though” (line 1581)) caused her to backtrack (“Ja no no no” (line 1582), “I’m just saying” (line 1582)). I reformulated her contribution (“You mean we need to promote a local” (line 1583)), crafting it into something more substantive, which allowed her to confirm her original idea. This talk is an example of the academic position the students were expected to assume and perform in the service-learning course.

Whilst the students endeavoured to sustain their academic subjectivity, this was at odds with their 'natural' inclination to engage with their community sites person to person. Lisa describes this struggle in the excerpt below:

372 Lisa: [You know what] I
373 think it is because we so critical and because we ss we like thinking in this
374 academic way about this community psychology and going to this school and
375 doing something sustainable (.) we forget that we human
376 Carol: Yes
377 Anna: Mm
378 Lisa: And the community are people they humans
379 Carol: Ja
380 Lisa: And humans touch each other's souls (.) no matter how angry and
381 Carol: Irritated [or frustrated]
382 Lisa: [Irritated you can] get (.) and the act of doing something for
383 somebody
384 Kate: Is ja
385 Lisa: I whether you helping them or you (.) you [facilitating change]
386 Elle: [Makes me emotional] I don't
387 know why
(Session 7)

Lisa introduced her contribution with “You know what” (line 372) , indicating that she was about to make an announcement/declaration. This announcement concerned the fact that the critical academic stance they had adopted prevented them from connecting with their community partners in more genuine ways (“we forget that we human” (line 375)). Following agreement and encouragement from Anna and myself, Lisa continued to argue for a human approach: “And the community are people they humans” (line 378); “And humans touch each other’s souls” (line 380). She continued

to strengthen her argument by stating that “no matter” (line 380) the challenges (“anger” (line 380) and “irritation” (line 382)), this humanness remained. Her talk also used terms like “soul” (line 380) and “doing something for somebody” (lines 382-383), which differentiated this perspective from a critical academic view. She contrasted the terminology of the two approaches in her statement: “I whether you helping them or you (.) you [facilitating change]” (line 385), where “helping” belongs to a more human approach, and “facilitating change” to a psychological paradigm. The pause and repetitions in the statement “you (.) you” (line 385) indicate a difficulty in drawing on the latter paradigm whilst promoting the former. Lisa’s argument for embracing a human perspective evoked an emotional response from Elle (“Makes me emotional” (line 386)). This emotional response is in contrast to what would be expected from a critical academic perspective that foregrounds cognitions, not emotions.

These excerpts thus portray how the students were constructed as both critical academics and as human beings. Lisa’s argument above illustrates how these positions were juxtaposed and produced as mutually exclusive, that is, a critical academic perspective did not allow being human and touching people’s souls. Even though these positions were constructed as belonging to different paradigms, the students struggled to maintain the separation and experienced both subjectivities at the same time.

6.5.3 Separate and joined

Related to the contradiction described above was the students’ dilemma of being separate from, and also joined with, their community partners. The participants’ talk vacillated between using othering to differentiate themselves, and indicating identification with their community sites, with terms like “our” and “we”.

In the excerpt below Anna’s talk clearly separated her from the community sites:

- 1093 *Anna: But what’s so rewarding when um (.) when I was in Pretoria I worked*
 1094 *with the RAG um you know what RAG is hey*
 1095 *Carol: Ja*

1096 *Anna: And um (.) the was so rewarding is how grateful they are (.) and how*
 1097 *they (.) have so little (.) so much less than what you have (.) yet (.) they don't*
 1098 *complain (.) they happy they grateful for what they do have (.) yet we like (.)*
 1099 *often complain [when we have] so much more*
 (Session 1)

Anna used the word “they” (lines 1096; 1097; 1098) six times in the above piece of talk, and then “we” (lines 1098; 1099) to indicate difference from, and to other, community members. She cited her previous experience on RAG (a university outreach initiative) to add credibility to her observations of ‘them’. Her observations were paternalistic in nature, the “grateful” (line 1098) other who has “so much less” (line 1097), and who does “not complain” (line 1097). She positions this other in opposition to ‘us’, who are not grateful even though we have “so much more” (line 1099). Whilst overtly trying to present communities in a positive light, her talk achieves a ‘them’ and ‘us’ who are very different.

In contrast, in the excerpt below Kate reported being “part of” her community site, when they went to a classroom to observe the activities at the school.

1578 *Kate: The teachers were very like welcome like (.) I feel like now with these*
 1579 *younger kids (.) when we went into the class (.) we like became (.) part of the*
 1580 *class*
 1581 *Elle: Mmm*
 1582 *Kate: Like with the (.) with the older at first it was a bit like (.) we were just*
 1583 *standing there like you know but then it (.) like we sort of it was (.) for me it*
 1584 *was easier to become a part of the class instead of just like watching them (.)*
 1585 *whereas with the older grades it was (.) like they gave us a chair (.) but like we*
 1586 *had to go and like you know (.) whereas this was a bit more natural [(.) and]*
 (Session 7)

Kate repeated twice that she “became part of the class” (lines 1579-1580; 1084) and that “this was a bit more natural” (line 1586). She also reported that she felt “welcome” (line 1578) from the teacher, and that it was “easier” (line 1584) to join with them than to remain in an observer role “watching them” (line 1584) from a distance (the “chair” (line 1085) that was provided). Her talk thus argued for the benefits of becoming part of the community as opposed to remaining separate.

At another stage in the sessions, the students drew on a term from one of the readings (Dunbar-Krige, Pillay & Elizabeth Henning, 2010, p. S11) to demonstrate their joining with their community sites:

800 *Elle: I liked the whole communitas*
 801 *Carol: I*
 802 *Anna: Communitise [(.) my word]*
 803 *Carol: [I also liked] communitas*
 804 *Anna: Communitise*
 805 *Unclear: He he he*
 806 *Carol: I really liked communitas*
 807 *Elle: Yes*
 808 *(.)*
 809 *Carol: Togetherness [in a way that]*
 810 *Elle: [Non- tangible binding] of people (.) I was like (.) [that's*
 811 *what we doing he he]*
 (Session 6)

In the talk, communitas was characterised as something desirable for the students to aspire to. Elle and I collaborated to indicate that we both “liked communitas” (lines 800; 803; 806). Anna tried to insert some humour by creating her own word, but this was largely ignored and instead, I emphasised that not only did I like communitas, “I really liked communitas” (line 806). Elle and I continued to agree to confirm that this “togetherness” (line 809), this “non-tangible binding of people” (line 810), was a good thing. Elle claimed that this is what they were doing. The original authors (Dunbar-Krige et al., 2010) described communitas as engaging in a togetherness which is separate from the demands of everyday reality. By claiming this and professing to be practicing it, Elle was demonstrating that she was joined with her community site.

The students were thus positioned as part of the community, whilst at the same time separate from them (by the prevalence of othering in the talk). The position of being joined with the community makes possible a sense of belonging and solidarity with the community members, whilst being separate enables the students to distance themselves from that context, and gives them the ability to walk away.

6.5.4 Power‘full’ and power‘less’

The notions of powerful and powerless are designated as power‘full’ and power‘less’ in this section, in recognition of Foucault’s notion of power, that it is not something that one can possess but something that can only be exercised.

During the sessions, the students were characterised as both power‘full’ and power‘less’.

Below, Anna advocated accepting one’s power in the context of community psychology:

- 1919 Carol: *[So how] how should you be (.) as a community [psychologist]*
 1920 Elle: *[They said] reflective critical openness*
 1921 Carol: *How should you be in relation to your power (..) and other people’s*
 1922 *power (.) that’s what [I’m asking]*
 1923 Anna: *[Saying] I can’t remember where (.) I can find it but accepting*
 1924 *our power*
 1925 Carol: *Mmm hmm*
 1926 Anna: *Not denying it (.) so like we’ve been talking about how it can be a*
 1927 *constructive positive thing (.) so not (.) avoiding it like the white elephant (.)*
 1928 *rather accepting it (.) because everyone knows there is power (.) so avoiding it*
 1929 *is like (.) what’s the point*
 (Session 7)

In the talk, I foregrounded the notion of power as an issue for discussion. Elle referred to one of the readings (“They said” (line 1920)) citing “reflective critical openness” (line 1920). I rephrased and repeated the question. Anna took the discussion beyond an academic perspective and advocated viewing it as a “constructive positive thing” (line 1927) that should be accepted, instead of pretending (“avoiding it like the white elephant” (line 1927)) it does not exist. Her talk characterised power as ever present (“everyone knows there is power” (line 1928)) and thus avoidance is futile. This excerpt thus positioned the students as needing to accept their power and avoid pretense. It constructs a notion of power as unavoidable and that thus, in order to move forward, it should be embraced as positive (“accepting our power” (line 1923- 1924)).

This is not, however, how the students always experienced their power in their community sites. The extract below was in the context of discussions about the development of the library at Mr K*’s school. The students reported feeling despondent and unable to deny Mr K*’s requests.

1679 Anna: *[I've lost all motivation] (.) to be honest*
 1680 Elle: *[No but it's almost as if he's put you (.) he's manipulated you and] put*
 1681 *you in this position*
 1682 Anna: *[I enjoyed being with the children (.) and now we don't have that]*
 1683 Lisa: *Exactly*
 1684 C: *So that's what I'm saying (.) how did you end up where you are (.) and*
 1685 Anna: *I think we felt like he was the powerful one [and he was telling us what*
 1686 *to do]*
 1687 Lisa: *[Because he's saying (.) and we*
 1688 *like] (.) okay okay*
 1689 Mary: *No but like*
 1690 Carol: *And you didn't feel like (.) you can't say sorry no*
 1691 Mary: *No I don't think*
 1692 Carol: *We can't help with that*
 1693 Lisa: *Ja*
 (Session 5)

In the talk, Anna confessed (“to be honest” (line 1679)) to have “lost all motivation” (line 1679). She positioned herself as helpless and defeated by the library issue. Even her pleasure of being with the children in the school had been taken away. Lisa agreed with this defeated perspective. Elle offered the perspective that the students had been manipulated into this position, indicating a powerful other who had managed to influence the students in this manner. I also query how they came to be in this position, and whether or not they felt they could refuse his requests (“And you didn't feel like (.) you can't say sorry no” (line 1690), “We can't help with that” (line 1692)). Both Lisa and Mary agree that this would have been impossible to do (“[Because he's saying (.) and we like] (.) okay okay” (lines 1687-1688), “No but like” (line 1689), “No I don't think” (line 1691)). In this excerpt, the students were thus positioned as powerless and helpless in the community context. Mr K* was a powerful man and, whilst he was exercising that power, the students felt compelled to comply.

These power‘full’ and power‘less’ subjectivities are also part of the students’ contradictory experience. Their bravado and courage to accept and use their power was counterbalanced with their experience of feeling overwhelmed, helpless and powerless in the community contexts. This was often against the backdrop of my implied expectation that the students should be able to handle this. For example, in the previous excerpt where I question how

they were rendered powerless (“How did you end up where you are” (line 1684)), and that refusal would have been appropriate (“You didn’t feel like you can’t say” (line 1690)).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the various subjectivities and positionings that were available to the service-learning students through the course. The overtly stated course objectives described critically knowledgeable subjects, skilled subjects, ethical subjects and developmental subjects. The subjects that were constructed in and through the course were more complicated and contradictory than these apparently straightforward ideals. Figure 6.1 below summarises these constructions.

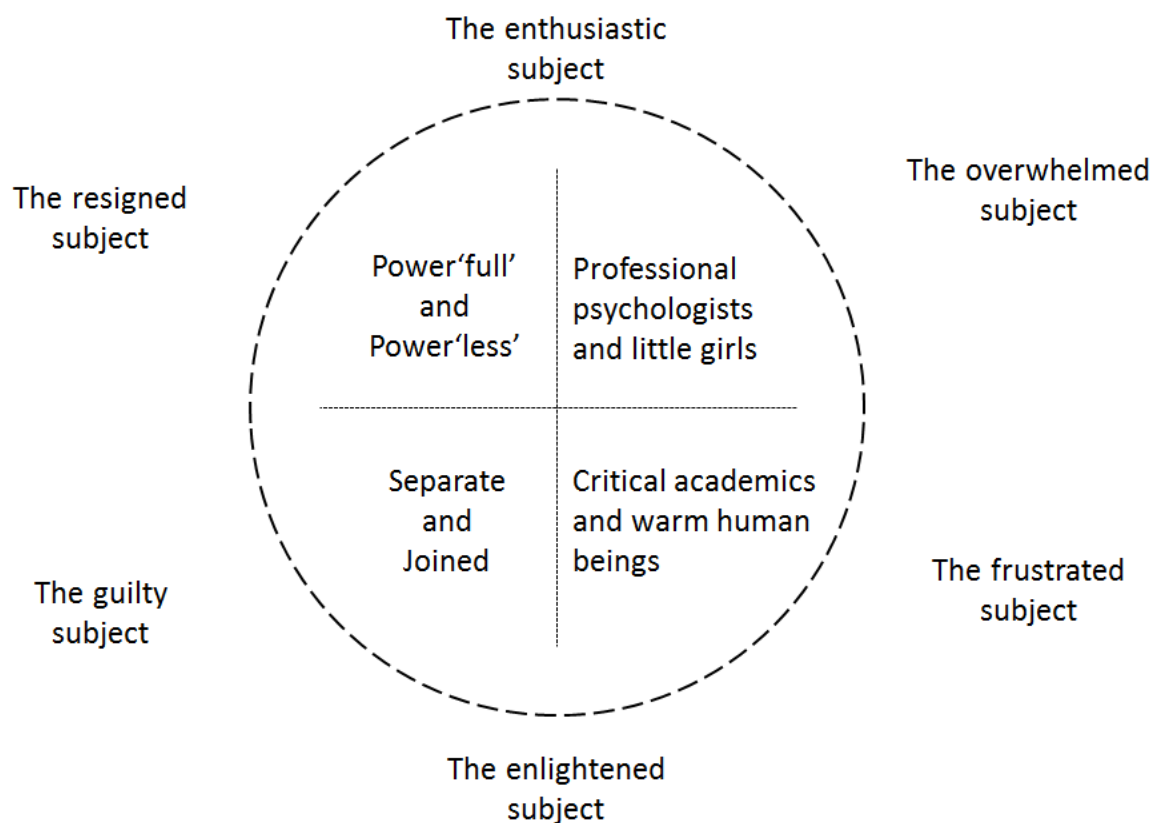


Figure 6.1: Complicated and contradictory subjectivities.

Students occupied different subject positions as the course progressed. Each subject position seemed to assist them to cope with the challenges invoked by the previous position. This was not necessarily linear, as any one of the subject positions could reappear at different stages. It did, however, seem to follow some kind of developmental trajectory. Whilst going through this process, the students were expected to hold together the

contradictory positions, evident in the binaries in the data, and practice both competing ways of being at the same time. The service-learning subject was thus complicated, contradictory and nuanced.

The following chapter moves beyond the descriptive level to explore the major discourses that were drawn on in the constructions of the subjects reported in this chapter. It locates the talk cited in this chapter in broader societal discourses, and their implications for knowing, doing and being.

CHAPTER 7

The deployment of discourses

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted how the service-learning students were frequently positioned in apparently contradictory ways. This chapter reports on the two major discourses which appear to be drawn on to construct the students, their implications for practice and subjectivity, and how the apparent contradictions and resulting dilemmas are managed.

Willig (2008) recommended an identification of the broader discourses or systems of meaning which serve to construct subjects. Graham (2011) named this phase of analysis “classification”, where the statement is considered in the context of the knowledge/power field that makes it meaningful.

In reading this chapter, it is useful to bear in mind Ian Parker’s (1992) reminder that “it would be misleading to say that we find discourses as such. We actually find pieces of discourse” (p. 3). He further wrote about how a discourse “inhabits a text” (p. 3), and that once we start to describe a text, we imbue and elaborate meanings that may go beyond individual intentions. As stated in the previous chapter, my Foucauldian lens was already in place when I approached the data. I was alert to instances of pastoral power, the prioritisation of the relationship between the students and I, and I was curious about the strategies and tactics that we, together, used to preserve the relationship and to promote certain ways of being. I therefore searched for how a pastoral discourse inhabited these sessions. This search also revealed a further discourse, an expert discourse, which served almost as a counterpoint for the pastoral. There are certainly other discourses evident in the text, developmental and academic, to name two. For me, these seemed to be sub-discourses, minor players on the stage where the pastoral and the expert were the lead roles.

This chapter therefore tries to paint a picture, or present a collage of occasions where these discourses inhabited the text. Much like an impressionistic painting, it is only in standing back that the picture can be fully appreciated. A close-up view presents only meaningless blotches. The extracts demonstrating the deployment of an expert discourse and a pastoral discourse were selected based on the hope that they clearly show evidence of the discourse in the text. In trying to balance brevity with thoroughness, I have attempted to provide at least two extracts for each organising theme, and also to ensure that they come from different sessions or stages in the process.

7.2 An expert discourse

Given that this service-learning course was offered in a post-graduate programme within the discipline of psychology, it is not surprising that a psychological discourse is prevalent across the sessions. A psychological discourse makes reference to the expertise of psychology and thus the talk also draws on a broader 'expert' discourse, that is, a discourse which distinguishes between those who are participants in the knowledge/power nexus, and those who are not.

Evidence of the deployment of an expert discourse is presented below in terms of the service-learning students being psychologists and knowing psychology. Linked to knowing psychology is the position of not-knowing; this is also discussed. The students are also characterised as having highly specialised skills, those of an expert. In addition, the demonstration of a level of awareness and conscientisation, through the use of meta perspectives is discussed, together with the students' need for achievement and use of supervision, which are meaningful within the context of an expert psychology discourse.

7.2.1 Being a psychologist and knowing psychology

At the most overt level, the expert discourse was apparent in talk of being (or not being) a psychologist, or a community psychologist/novice community psychologist. The excerpts in the previous chapter provided examples of this, with phrases such as: "[So how] how should you be (.) as a community [psychologist]"; "But can we call ourselves novice community psychologists"; and "our skills as psychologists". The students were frequently positioned

In this talk, the students were asked to consider the possibility of publication in the phrase “Now why can’t you” (line 653). Phrasing this in this way (an invitation), as opposed to ‘Can you write one like that’ means the students would have to work harder, from a conversational perspective, to refute this: the answer to the “can you” question could simply be yes or no. The response to a “why can’t you” question required them to present legitimate reasons why they cannot. As a result, the students did not resist and stated surprise (“Ohhhh” (line 654)) and excitement (“...hhh °yay°” (line 658) an audible intake of breath and a quiet expression of yay, and “That’s exciting” (line 659)). Anna suggested publishing in the singular (“you” (line 656)), and I countered with a collective (“we” (line 657)), indicating that this is a combined endeavour and, in addition, emphasising the students as agentic in this enterprise. This served to position them as more than students, and rather as legitimately participating in a broader academic enterprise, that of expert psychology.

The service-learners were thus precariously positioned in the talk as “novice-experts”. They were expected to have a good knowledge of, and be guided, by psychological theory and to be aware of the limitations of their role as novice community psychologists. Despite having this knowledge, they were also expected to recognise that they were ‘not psychologists’ and that there was a limited range of things that they were permitted to do.

As was evident in the previous chapter, psychological terminology was frequently used in discussing the students’ work. An expert discourse was drawn upon with the use of words like ‘client’, ‘boundaries’, and ‘ethics’ which imply a professional psychology framework. The use of the term ‘client’ draws on an expert discourse, where someone in need – the client – consults someone who can assist them – the expert.

- 1000 Carol: [And]
 1001 I was wondering if you were talking about (.) um (.) trying to (.) get urm (.)
 1002 people in communities to understand (.) the assumptions they have about
 1003 their own situation and how those limit
 1004 Group: Mmmm
 1005 Carol: What what (.) like in in your (.) in your work with an individual client (.)
 1006 you would be trying to get them to see how their belief systems or (.) their
 1007 ways of behaving (.) are not (.) beneficial to them in their lives and so that
 1008 they=

(Session 6)

In this talk, the expert would assist the “client” (line 1005) (individuals/communities) to become aware of their self-limiting assumptions, beliefs and behaviours. Such work requires specialised skills, and someone who is ‘wiser’ than the client concerned. The expert is able to see the error of the client’s ways and present this evidence to them in a manner which will facilitate change. Even though I presented it in a tentative manner (“I was wondering” (line 1001), and in the stuttering “what what (.) like in in your (.) in your work” (line 1005)), the talk constructed the students as having these expert skills (“your work” (line 1005)).

The expert also operates within set boundaries. In the excerpt below, Anna was trying to negotiate an appropriate departure from her community site. She tentatively offered the (“nice” (line 571)) gesture of providing a cake, and I turned this issue over to the group (non-verbally) for response:

571 Anna: I was thinking (.) is like overstepping (.) I don't know would it be a nice
572 gesture or out of our role to like (.) maybe take like a cake and do like a (.) you
573 know like do the talk and then have a bit of mingling to be like °thank you
574 goodbye°
575 (..) ((Video – Carol open's hands to group to respond, with smile))
576 Mary: Is it our responsibility [or theirs]
577 Anna: [Cos I just see it like] S*[[educator network]]
578 everyone mingles afterwards and eats the foods and (.) like we don't have to
579 go overboard like (.) cupcakes (.) I don't know cupcakes for every teacher (.)
580 and we can make them ourselves like our lil token of love he he (.) even
581 though there is SOME CONTEMPT to some of them he he he he
582 Kate: I don't think it's overstepping the boundaries really (.) urm but (.) do you
583 have that relationship with them (.) like
(Session 8)

Anna's use of the term "overstepping" (line 571) implied the existence of boundaries, and limits to their "role" (line 572). The response from Kate indicated that taking "a cake" (line 572) was a questionable course of action, to which Anna responded with a justification and some humour and laughter, possibly to ease the discomfort she felt at the scrutiny of her peers. She used the term "lil token of love" (line 580) to diminish the act of taking cake into something small and nonsensical. Kate used the word "boundaries" (line 582) and, even though she gave Anna permission, the use of the word "but" (line 582) indicated that

caution needed to be exercised. This excerpt not only demonstrates the use of expert terminology, but also that the expert norms were being utilised by the participants to discipline themselves and others.

My non-verbal behaviour, captured by the video camera is also of interest. The transcription records that I opened my hands up to the group and smiled. These gestures can be understood as an invitation for the group to respond, and an indication that others knew the answer to this kind of question. Both gestures indicated the existence of expertise within the participants, that is, it was unnecessary for me to respond when the group could take care of it.

As with 'boundaries', the term 'ethics' was used in the talk to indicate an awareness of the role and responsibilities of the expert. Anna asked "[Is that] ethical if you not trained" (session 2, lines 1294; 1295). This implied that there is an existing set of practices that are considered appropriate and ethical in the field of psychology. Some professional individuals/body had decided what is right and wrong, or even permissible, and the students had internalised these rules. The presence of the other, who is able to judge what the students do as ethical or unethical, indicates that there is an expert body of knowledge that exists beyond the student. An expert will operate within the ethically defined boundaries of her profession.

7.2.2 Not-knowing

An expert discourse was also present when the talk is of 'not-knowing', as the admission of 'not-knowing' implies the existence of another (expert) who would know. As was highlighted in the previous chapter, there were occasions when the students reported having a sense of not-knowing. For example, in session five, Lisa reported liking when the author of one of their prescribed articles wrote of not-knowing, as this resonated with her ("Because I felt not-knowing" (line 1145)); in the talk, I reinforced that not-knowing was okay by saying "I also liked that" (line 1148) and demonstrated my agreement with Lisa's perspective. There were also frequent occurrences in the talk where I proclaimed not to

know the answer. The extract below was in the context of a discussion about what “we” can offer communities:

1081 Carol: But (.) um (.) I’m I’m not (.) I don’t know the answer hey (.) I’m asking
 1082 you do you think it’s the skill that we bring (.) because psychology trains us to
 1083 understand people (.) in their internal (.) context as well as (.) understand
 1084 people in their external context (.) so we we (.) we come with an
 1085 understanding of people
 (Session 6)

By claiming not to know the answer, I positioned myself in an alliance of ‘not-knowing’ with the students. I also tried to turn the question back to the students (“I’m asking you” (lines 1081-1082)) but then went on to provide an answer, and emphasised that “we we we” (line 1084) (experts) come with an understanding of people.

There were many occasions in the talk where I claimed “I don’t know” (line 1081). Despite this claim, I most often went on to provide some sort of answer or direction. It thus seemed to be a conversational ruse, and a strategy to align myself with the students and engage them in joint problem solving. In the excerpt below, the discussion was around what the students would do at their community site:

140 Carol: It will be interesting to see (.) if you changing your approach now (.) I
 141 don’t know what you going to do (.) but it will be interesting to see if you still
 142 think this
 143 Lisa: Once we =
 144 Carol: = Once you get (.) I don’t know whether you’re going to be (mining)
 145 down a bit (.) trying to develop (.) ah deeper understanding of the context (.)
 146 in what you doing (.) you’ve been going in running workshops coming out (.)
 147 going in running workshops coming out (.) I don’t know what you’re planning
 148 to do but it will be interesting to see (.) if you get to spend time with (.)
 149 individual people and children (.) if you still think (.) that this is ah ah (..) well
 150 resourced and it’s always relative
 (Session 4)

In this excerpt, I claimed in three places that I do not know, yet despite not knowing how the students were going to proceed, I suggested a course of action, that is, to develop a deeper understanding of the context and build relationships at the site. In addition, when a student tried to participate, I continued speaking over her, disregarding her attempt to assist me in my not- knowing. The ‘not-knowing’ presented these directives as suggestions and appeared to be an attempt to encourage students to take ownership of the course of

action. The talks thus constructed students as being allowed to not know, yet at the same time they were urged to recognise their expertise and to pursue a particular course of action.

7.2.3 Having highly specialised skills

The objectives for the course described the students as being highly skilled; this draws on an expert discourse, as it is the expert who has these kind of specialised skills. As detailed in the previous chapter, the students were characterised as knowing how to build capacity and facilitate sustainable changes within complex systems; they were sensitive to power issues and collaborated with communities; they knew how to build and manage relationships; they knew how to develop sustainable interventions; they had research skills.

Constructing the students in these ways set them in contrast to those (the non-expert others) who do not have these kinds of skills, and who would benefit from the students exercising this expertise. Consider the extract below:

- 1201 *Elle: =But it's also to get them to buy into the skills that we have (.) like you*
 1202 *were talking about power you know it's all very well to have power and as an*
 1203 *expert you know you have power (.) but having power is also giving away*
 1204 *power*
 1205 *Carol: Yes*
 1206 *Elle: But how do you get that power in the first place (.) so how do you (.) how*
 1207 *do you get the community (.) to recognise that you have the skills that you (.)*
 1208 *want to share*
 1209 *Lisa: In our case I think Mr. K* is very well aware of the power we have and*
 1210 *the skills (.) because he said (.) they welcome (.) we welcome anyone that can*
 1211 *help develop our school (.) and our*
 1212 *Elle: Was he actually saying that to you (.) with your like*
 1213 *Lisa: I don't know*
 1214 *Elle: Your buy in*
 (Session 5)

As mentioned previously, the use of “them” and “they” positioned the students relative to an other, who does not have this kind of expertise. Lisa added to this position by claiming that “Mr K” (line 1209), the principal of the school they were based at, had emphasised “they welcome (.) we welcome” (line 1210) interventions that would “develop” (line 1211) the school. The other was therefore one who was in need of assistance and development.

This talk positioned the communities they were engaged with as in need of expert intervention, and thus positioned the students as those who had the potential to offer this kind of help. Elle's talk above demonstrated the struggle she was having with this position. She started two sentences with the word "but" (lines 1201; 1206), and her speech was interspersed with short pauses as she tried to express her difficulties. She also doubted Lisa's proclamation by questioning "Was he actually saying that to you"? (line 1212)

Elle spoke about the difficulty of "getting them to buy into" (line 1201) and "getting them to recognise" (line 1207) the skills the students have. This indicated that the implementation of skills was not clear cut. This was also clear when she questioned Lisa about her statement about Mr K's welcoming attitude. Her questioning resulted in Lisa relinquishing her position in "I don't know" (line 1213). In the same speech act, Elle asked three times "how do you" (lines 1206-1207), expressing her confusion. The use of the word "share" (line 1208) also indicated a benevolent motive, meaning that the well-meaning student may have skills to share with a rather reluctant community. The practice of these "expert" (line 1203) skills in communities was thus not unproblematic.

Elle also focussed on the power issues associated with being skilled. She presented power as a problem, by stating "it's all very well to have power" (line 1202), indicating that ownership of power was not an end in itself, and goes on to state: "but having power is giving power away" (line 1203). Thus power is most useful when it is shared. She stated: "you know you have power" (line 1203) but posed the dilemma of "how do you get that power in the first place" (line 1206), recognising that power is in the interaction with the communities they were working with. When Lisa presented the notion that Mr K was "very well aware of the power we have" (line 1209), Elle questioned this to keep power as a problem that required consideration.

The talk around brainwashing also raised the issue of expert skills. This was raised in the previous chapter and is presented again here:

1071 *Lisa: But I think there's this e like like (.) like we have this illusion (.) if you give*
 1072 *people money it will solve the problem (.) [but what happens]*

1073 Carol: [And if you give people] (.) you also
 1074 [think] if you give people skills it will solve the problem
 1075 Elle: [Resources]
 1076 Lisa: But it =
 1077 Carol: = But it was interesting (.) we can get to Sterling just now (.) about (.)
 1078 how we expecting too much from people
 1079 Kate: Mmm
 1080 Elle: Ja
 1081 Lisa: So we have to like really:: (.) brainwash everyone into
 1082 Carol: Brainwashing
 1083 Lisa: Ja
 1084 Carol: Is this our role now
 1085 Group: Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
 1086 Lisa: [()]
 1087 Anna: [()]
 1088 Carol: [manipulation and brainwashing (.) specialties of the psychologist]
 (Session 5)

The excerpt was in the context of the students' frustration with their lack of progress at their community sites. In various overlapping and rapid exchanges, we noted that money, skills and resources are not sufficient to solve the problems in communities, assuming an expert stance of knowing what would/would not work in these contexts. I also questioned whether we were expecting too much (from the other who was not an expert). The frequent use of the word "but" (lines 1071; 1072; 1076; 1077) also indicated the presence of the problem, and the difficulty in finding a solution. Lisa offered that, in the absence of other interventions that work, we may need to "brainwash" (line 1081) people. I took this up and repeated "brainwashing" (line 1082) as a query, which Lisa confirmed, to the amusement of the group. The expert skill of "manipulation and brainwashing" (line 1088) was highlighted in the previous chapter. This segment of talk is repeated here as a reminder of the potential of the 'expert' to resort to a serious abuse of power, in an attempt to solve problems. It was obvious, through the laughter and the tone of the exchange, that we were all joking, but expert power was evident here, as it is an expert who would be able to brainwash people – and a group of experts who would be able to sit (at a distance) and laugh about the prospect.

7.2.4 Awareness and conscientisation

During the sessions, there was talk of the development or enhancement of awareness and understanding. The previous chapter described the emergence of a conscientised subject as the students shared their experiences in the community and how these shaped them. There was talk of self-awareness, cultural awareness and awareness of positioning and being positioned. This kind of talk is only possible through an expert lens which allows a meta-perspective. Thus, although students at times talked of being part of the community and being with the community (in *communitas*), their position and privilege as ‘outsiders’ allowed them to reflect on their experiences in a manner that is not possible for those who are embedded in the context.

In session four, there was direct talk about “awareness” as a part of the community psychology framework. The next excerpt comes from a part of the discussion where students were reporting back on a task which had asked them to identify the three salient features of community psychology, from their perspectives.

- 430 *Mary: It regards the whole community and not just the individual*
 431 *Carol: The individual isn't just the focus of it*
 432 *Mary: And I said that it holds a certain awareness (.) of the importance*
 433 *between (.) the individuals and their community (..) um in terms of alleviating*
 434 *their problems (.) and I [spoke about]*
 435 *Carol: [Certain awareness]*
 436 *Mary: We (.) we have an awareness*
 437 *Carol: Of the context*
 438 *Mary: Of the context yes (.) and then I spoke about um (.) the (.) the shift from*
 439 *the medical model to a social action model*
 (Session 4)

In her talk about her understanding of community psychology, Mary used an expert discourse to position this kind of work as having an awareness of the community context of individuals. She then proceeded to claim that “we (.) we have an awareness” (line 436), situating herself and the other participants within the domain of those who have that “certain” kind of awareness. She also used terms like “alleviating” (line 433), “medical model” (line 439), and “social action model” (line 439), which are part of the expert discourse in psychology. Although I participated in this talk, my utterances were echoes of what she was saying and therefore served as reinforcers or encouragers. Her talk served to

position herself, the other students and myself, within the sphere of community psychology, which has a meta-perspective in relation to individuals and their contexts and how to alleviate their problems. Her use of expert terms also served to legitimise her position in this expert sphere of psychology.

In the extract below, Anna drew on theory and exposure in her other courses to demonstrate her awareness of positioning and consequent power practices:

- 100 *Anna: Um in the (.) I think it was (.) sorry I think it was the new journal articles*
 101 *but talking about positioning (.) and how everyone is in a position and it links*
 102 *to K*'s [[another lecturer]] stereotyping where (.) we all position ourselves*
 103 *and we always justify our actions and we always accountable for our actions*
 104 *(.) so if I do something it will always be justified by (.) I'm not a racist [but]*
 105 *Group: [But]*
 106 *Anna: I'm not um a it it's like always positioning yourself*
 107 *Carol: Mmm*
 108 *Anna: When you go into the school*
 109 *Carol: Yes*
 110 *Anna: And they position themselves*
 111 *Carol: Yes (.) [and they position you and you] position them*
 112 *Anna: [It's (all) power relations]*
 113 *Group: Ja*
 (Session 4)

An 'expert eye' is performed in the talk above. Anna drew on a number of sources to make an argument about how the students were positioned in the communities they were working in. This meta-reflective skill falls within the realm of the expert; Anna backed her claims by referencing "journal articles" (line 100), "K*'s lectures" (line 102), and psychological terminology ("stereotyping" (line 102)). Through drawing on these expert academic resources, she was able to provide a working definition of positioning and apply it to her experience in her community context. This was a highly academic exchange, where I reinforced and extended her ideas, and the rest of the group agreed. Anna then further demonstrated her academic acumen by linking positioning to power relations. This kind of talk, this kind of perspective, this kind of argument is meaningful within an expert discourse.

Whilst this text could be read in many ways, I would argue that an emphasis on success through achievement demonstrates the deployment of an expert discourse. From a pastoral perspective, there is no notion of passing, and success is measured through being, not doing.

Further evidence of their need for achievement, and its relation to an expert discourse, was apparent in the following extract where the students compared their performance to that of a guest speaker.

- 1018 *Mary: And I also think that the way that she described it and the explicit the*
1019 *um (.) the way she was so explicit about her descriptions of things and this is*
1020 *actually what it was (.) it was (.) it was something that we would never have*
1021 *been capable of saying (.) [number one]*
1022 *Anna: [She's just] so:: ex (.) she had this expertise*
1023 *Mary: Yes she had the expertise =*
1024 *Carol: = And that didn't come from a qualification*
1025 *Elle: [No, experience]*
1026 *Mary: [Yes] and it didn't come from (.) and I think that essentially we all saw*
1027 *ourselves in this lady (.) saying that this is what we ultimately wanted to*
1028 *achieve (.)*
(Session 7)

7.2.6 Supervision

Talk of supervision in the sessions also makes sense in the context of an expert discourse.

The notion of supervision is firmly situated in discourses of professional psychology.

- 2211 *Anna: The other thing that stood out (.) in that was just (.) how (.) um (.) how*
 2212 *important the supervisor role is*
 2213 *Carol: Ja*
 2214 *Anna: Carol we would not have been able to do this without you (.) well I*
 2215 *know I wouldn't have been able to do this without you like (.) just the simple*
 2216 *thing of you responding and saying no (.) just one or two comments (.) and*
 2217 *those comments are helpful and it helps you know okay I'm on the right track*
 2218 *Carol: Ja*
 2219 *Anna: Because you do (.) you have the experience (.) you have (.) we feel so*
 2220 *like (.) young and naïve in this that we need a bouncing board*
 (Session 4)

In this excerpt, I was positioned in contrast to the students; I had “the experience”, as opposed to the students who were “young and naïve”. The repetition of the phrase “not have been able to do this without you” (line 2214) served to emphasise this difference in expertise. Anna’s use of the phrase “the right track” (line 2217) indicated the existence of the correct way of doing things, that is known to the expert. Positioned as this expert supervisor, even “one or two comments”(line 2216) that I made in that capacity were sufficient to guide the novices who needed a “bouncing board” (line 2220). This talk of the supervisor as expert, and the subordination of the novices to this expert, placed the experience within an expert discourse.

The following excerpt demonstrates supervision in action during session one.

- 944 *Carol: Whatever you do (.) you need to be:: aware of what expectations you're*
 945 *setting up (.)*
 946 *Lisa: Ja*
 947 *Carol: And (.) you also need to be at all the time trying to develop capacity at*
 948 *the in the at the community level so sure (.) you can write to Sportmans*
 949 *Sportmans Warehouse for sponsorship but you should do it together with the*
 950 *educators so that they know how to write that kind of letter next time when*
 951 *you're not there (.)*
 952 *((Group repeats Carol's main points as she's saying them))*
 953 *Unclear: Ja*
 954 *Carol: So the whole time you trying to think how can I build capacity how can I*
 955 *build capacity (.) let's say you have ah a brilliant system um where children*

956 *get access to IDs and then you leave and no one knows how that system*
 957 *works*
 958 *Unclear: Mmm*
 959 *Carol: So like the whole time it's like how can you build capacity at the site*
 960 *Unclear: Okay*
 (Session 1)

In this extract, I actively took up the role of expert – instructing the novices in what they needed to do. “Whatever” (line 944) they did, they needed to be careful about raising expectations, they also needed to “build capacity” (lines 954; 955; 958) (repeated three times) at their community sites for sustainability. I performed my expertise by taking centre stage in the talk, whilst the students mumbled agreement (“ja’ (lines 946; 953), “okay” (line 959), “mmm” (line 957)) and repeated the points as if learning by rote. I dominated this piece of text with the volume of talk and with the certainty with which I spoke (few pauses, no ums). I even used the phrase “sure (.) you can write to” (line 948) to respond nonchalantly to a suggestion made by one of the students about approaching a donor, dismissing this activity as petty compared to the principle of building capacity which I was emphasising.

The expert discourse inhabited this talk in my manner, my use of psychological terms (“build capacity” and in my direct instruction to the novices.

7.3 The consequences of the deployment of an expert discourse

The opportunities for knowing, doing and being that were afforded by the deployment of an expert discourse depend upon where the service-learner was positioned along the continuum of expertise at that particular time, in that particular situation. When the students were positioned at the ‘novice’ end of the spectrum, they were allowed to not-know (theories, answers, how to proceed); they were also permitted to request supervision to guide them through not-knowing. Being a novice also makes allowances for errors, mistakes, ‘failures’, where the novice subject is not as accountable as the expert would be.

At the other end of the continuum, the expert subject carries a lot of responsibilities. As the expert knows/has knowledge, she was expected to be able to exercise her specialised skills

in an appropriate manner. With expertise comes power, and with power comes the responsibility to practice it wisely. Positioned in this manner, the expert subject seldom fails, and was expected to perform in a manner that produced the desired outcomes. In addition, an expert position allowed the expert subject some distance from the immediate situation, as she was able to draw on meta-perspectives to make sense of her experiences.

An expert discourse also implies a developmental project, where the subject is expected to move from the position of novice towards the position of expert over time. Within an expert discourse, the position of expert is more valued than the position of novice; thus 'being an expert' is a desirable outcome and something to aspire to.

These elements of an expert discourse, and the possibilities for subjectivity that they offer, are contrasted with a more pastoral discourse that is described below.

7.4 A pastoral discourse

In contrast to, and possibly as resistance against, an expert discourse, a pastoral discourse was often deployed in the sessions. Foucault's description of pastoral power emphasised the centrality of a caring relationship between shepherd and flock. He also explained that the core focus of the pastoral was on beneficence and doing good. Other features are obedience and submission, as well as self-sacrifice. The pastoral is also characterised by zeal and devotion, as opposed to the use of strength to effect change.

A pastoral discourse was evident in the sessions in talk of being human and emotionally invested, being part of the community, and being needed there. It was also deployed in talk of the relationship with the shepherd and in notions of good and evil. These are discussed further below.

7.4.1 Warm human beings

The previous chapter described how students struggled with the contradictory subjectivities of being critical academics and warm human beings. The human being subject was situated within a pastoral discourse.

The extract below was chosen because it shows how the two subjectivities of being critical academics and warm human beings were juxtaposed for the students. The majority of the talk draws on an expert discourse, but there is a turn to the pastoral at the end. The context of this discussion was talk about achievement, and the nature of what the students had managed to achieve in their community sites.

- 1078 *Elle: It's made that way because it's a course Carol (.) it's made that way*
 1079 *because it's (.) at the end of the day we are getting marks for it [(.) and]*
 1080 *Carol: [Yes (.)] but you*
 1081 *get marks for your (.) academic*
 1082 *Elle: I know*
 1083 *Carol: Not for the (.) what you [did or didn't do]*
 1084 *Anna: [But you right it primed us]*
 1085 *Elle: It's it's different*
 1086 *Carol: The context [sets you up]*
 1087 *Elle: [It's just] the context (.) ja and we know that we not*
 1088 *getting marked on (.) if we (..) [ran a perfect] intervention ja*
 1089 *Carol: [Ran a successful intervention] ((inverted*
 1090 *commas over successful))*
 1091 *Elle: We know we not but (.) it's implied*
 1092 *Group: Ja*
 1093 *Carol: Nature of [the academic context] is around achievement*
 1094 *Kate: [The assumptions]*
 1095 *Elle: And it's implied from their side as well*
 1096 *Kate: Yes ja*
 1097 *Lisa: Because you working with (.) like it's people it's not like ah ah an article*
 1098 *=*
 1099 *Elle: = It's not like rats that you're experimenting on in a [cage]*
 1100 *Lisa: [Ja] it's human (.) and*
 1101 *Anna: It's human beings and it's*
 (Session 8)

In the talk, the students argued that they were “primed” (line 1084) to launch a successful intervention. This priming was due to the fact that it was a university course which “we are getting marks for” (line 1079) and also because “it’s made that way” (line 1078). “The context” (line 1086) set them up to have these expectations of achievement. There was careful negotiation of the relationship between myself and the students in the talk, as, instead of accusing me of setting them up, they allocated blame to “it” and “the context” (line 1087). Elle drew on an expert discourse when talking about marks and achievement.

I tried to refute her claims by pointing out that the marks were allocated on the basis of the “academic” (line 1081) part of the work, and not for what they did (“you did or didn’t do” (line 1083)) in their communities. Whilst Elle worked hard not to be too challenging (“I know” (line 1082), “It’s it’s different” (line 1085)), she did not relinquish her perspective that success was important. Anna and the rest of the group joined to support Elle, whereupon I allocated blame to the “nature of the academic context” (line 1093). I also tried to de-emphasise achievement through using non-verbal gestures to insert inverted commas around the word “successful” (line 1089).

Elle then moved on to argue that their community hosts also wanted success (“it’s implied from their side as well” (line 1095)). Together, the students argued that success was important because of the “human beings” (line 1101) involved; in the talk, they used terms like “rats in a cage” (line 1099) or “an article” (line 1097), to distinguish the ‘human’ nature of their work from that of traditional psychology. The students defended their need for achievement from an academic perspective, drawing on the expert discourse with talk of ‘marks’. They then switched their argument by drawing on a pastoral discourse, with talk of humans, and used strong comparisons to highlight the difference between the two. By differentiating what they were doing from what others may be involved in with the term “rats in cage” (line 1099), they positioned their work as important and based in the real world, with real people. The way the phrase was used cast aspersions on that kind of laboratory-based science, which has no relation to people’s lives. Instead, using a pastoral discourse, they argued the importance of not letting people (real human beings) down through their lack of achievement of the desired outcomes.

I would argue that the pastoral is also evident in the way we (the participants) argued carefully, in order not to allocate blame or cause offence. This was achieved by politely hearing each other’s perspectives, respectfully disagreeing, and eventually switching discourses to draw on other discursive resources. This highlights the importance of the relationships in the course, and how we worked to preserve them.

As described in the previous chapter, students also used phrases like “humans touch each other’s souls”, deploying a pastoral discourse to defend their caring position, when a critical academic perspective may have been what they perceived as desirable. The excerpt below again demonstrates how the expert academic perspective was contrasted with a pastoral human perspective.

- 439 *Elle: It’s like you said you human being and you connect with people*
 440 *Lisa: We forget that because we so like AH (.) I must be critical of power and*
 441 *Mr K*’s [[school principal]] like this [and blah blah] blah blah blah (.) [you*
 442 *know what I mean (.) you forget it]*
 443 *Kate: [He he he]*
 444 *Elle: [He he he he he Mr K]*
 445 *Carol: And it’s actually about relationships*
 446 *Lisa: Ja*
 447 *Carol: Which involves investing something of your self*
 448 *Group: [Mmmm]*
 (Session 7)

Elle used terms like “human being” (line 439) and “connect” (line 439) to argue for a more pastoral approach. Lisa juxtaposed this with an academic approach, where they would be “critical of power” (line 440) and “blah blah blah” (line 441), with the “blah’s” indicating ongoing academic talk along the same line. Her characterisation drew laughter from Kate and Elle, as it minimised the academic/expert perspective. The phrase “blah blah blah” (line 441) constructs this kind of talk as going on ad infinitum, with little of substance being added. It indicates some disrespect towards that perspective. I did not argue with this but instead reinforced a more pastoral approach by emphasising that “it’s actually about relationships” (line 445) and “investing something of your self” (line 447).

In an extract from the last session (eight), Elle referred to Lisa’s previous comments about humans touching each other’s souls, and her emotional response to this.

- 1943 *Elle: That’s why what (.) what Lisa said last time (.) brought me to such (.)*
 1944 *because it is it’s like (.) hh people just expect oh psychologist you you know*
 1945 *you must separate yourself from people but =*
 1946 *Anna: = And then go home at the end of the day [and (be okay)]*
 1947 *Elle: [For me (.)] psychology was*
 1948 *about ma (.) why (.) became a psychologist was about making connections*
 1949 *[with people]*

1950 Carol: *[Connecting people]*
 1951 Group: *Ja*
 1952 Elle: *And that's why (.) when you said it it was just like (.) I think you just put*
 1953 *(.) my feelings into words (.) that's why I was all like*
(Session 8)

In the talk, Elle and then Anna (in continuous speech) dismissed the notion of the stereotyped psychologist who is distant and separate from people ("you must separate yourself from people" (line 1944- 1945)). Instead, Elle emphasised the connected nature of the work as her source of meaning in the field ("why (.) became a psychologist was about making connections [with people]" (lines 1948-1949)). She also used this turn to rationalise her previous emotional response and defend it ("brought me to such" (line 1943), "you just put (.) my feelings into words (.) that's why I was all like" (lines 1952-1953)). The pastoral is evident in her appeal to the importance of connections, and her emotional response to the work.

The emphasis on relationships, connections, human beings, and their deliberate counter-positioning with more critical, scientific ("rats in a cage") approaches, served to establish a pastoral perspective as meaningful, and thus this discourse served to construct the experience, and was co-constructed by the participants, as legitimate and useful.

7.4.2 Emotionally invested

The excerpts above included the term "investing something of your self". There was frequent talk in the sessions regarding the emotional investment of, and in, service-learning. This intense focus on the emotional aspects of the work was consistent with a pastoral discourse.

In the excerpt below, the participants discussed their devotion to the service-learning:

466 Anna: *It makes you feel like your effort has been (.) unappreciated and (.) that*
 467 *shouldn't be why we doing [it (.) but it's it's] difficult*
 468 Mary: *[And especially when]*
 469 Anna: *To put so much effort and your whole heart and soul into something (.)*
 470 *cos I think that's why we spend so much time on it because we feel so*
 471 *connected to [it whereas like ()]*

472 *Elle: [Ja (.) it's not as though we don't want to its that we put in a lot of time*
 473 *ourselves]*
 (Session 4)

Anna's talk about feeling "unappreciated" (line 466), questioning their motives ("that shouldn't be why we doing [it" (lines 466- 467)), and the difficulty of the work served to position their "effort" (lines 466; 469) as sacrificial. She emphasised this with the statement "to put so much effort and your whole heart and soul into something" (line 469), repeating "effort" (line 469), and then using the emotive phrase "whole heart and soul" (line 469) to indicate their dedication to the task. Elle confirmed this perspective ("Ja" (line 472)), also defending their position as highly motivated ("it's not as though we don't want to" (line 472)) and reinforcing the effort they put in by emphasising the "lot of time" (line 472) they dedicated to the work. As part of this argument for their dedicated approach, Anna also used the phrase "we feel so connected to [it" (lines 470-471), emphasising their emotional connection to the work.

This talk drew on a pastoral discourse by emphasising a whole-hearted and soulful connection and dedication to the task. The participants reinforced the amount of effort and time put into the work, and that it was due to emotional investment. Their zeal and devotion to the work was therefore constructed and defended in the talk, as well as in their perseverance in difficult times (even when they were "unappreciated" (line 466)).

The emphasis on investment was also apparent in talk of "giving of yourself". Below, Mary was reporting on their experience with a guest speaker whom they invited to speak at their community site:

1058 *Mary: [And also] the one (fine) thing she said (.) when she was gain just*
 1059 *before she got in the car she was like no I'm so tired now (.) and she was like*
 1060 *you know I just want to sleep (.) and I just thought to myself that's exactly*
 1061 *what the three of us say after =*
 1062 *Anna: = [Every time we leave]*
 1063 *Group: [He he he he]*
 1064 *((Overlapping talk – unclear))*
 1065 *Carol: Cos it takes something out of you*
 1066 *Group: [Ja]*
 1067 *Mary: [Guys] I'm so tired like (.) I feel so*
 1068 *Lisa: Cos you do give of yourself (.) you give of yourself*

(Session 7)

The talk here constructed their work as giving to the point of exhaustion: (“it takes something out of you (line 1065) and “[Guys] I’m so tired” (line 1067)). They drew on the guest speaker’s comments to strengthen their argument that this kind of work was tiring. Lisa emphasised their self-sacrifice by repeating the phrase “you give of yourself” (line 1068). A pastoral discourse is apparent here in the talk of sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others. By implication, they are therefore dedicated, hard workers who persist even when it is difficult.

The emotional investment and sacrifice of the students, and their desire to make a difference in their communities, draw on a pastoral discourse, which emphasises the mutuality of relationships (submission to one another). An expert discourse prioritises distance and meta-perspectives. The previous chapter already highlighted the participants’ use of the term “communitas” to indicate their identification with their communities. The notion of communitas includes a spiritual dimension of coming together beyond everyday activities. This emphasis on soulful and spiritual connection is meaningful within a pastoral framework.

The extract below was from a discussion where Elle was describing her reluctance to leave the community site she had been working in, as she was concerned as she felt they needed her. I picked up on this emphasis on need:

- 307 Carol: So (.) that’s interesting (.) but the other thing is (.) you used the words
 308 they need us (.)
 309 Kate: Ja
 310 Elle: Ja I know (.) I was aware of that he he
 311 Carol: NO I KNOW but ahh (.) it’s just interesting reflect on
 312 Elle: Ja
 313 Lisa: Is it almost that you (.) you get attached and you get you invested in
 314 what you doing (.) and you feel (.) I can leave it because my because this
 315 community psych is over
 316 Elle: I I [I have a inner I have a inner] I have a inner (.) I have a inner
 317 Lisa: [But inside]
 318 Elle: It’s not (.) it’s not just about the course anymore
 319 Group: Ja
 320 Elle: I have [that inner like well]

321 Carol: [Vested (.) vested] interest
 322 Elle: Ja (.) it's like they (.) they are expressing (.) in like (.) expressing that (.)
 323 they would like us to be there (.) now I like (.) well
 (Session 7)

In the talk, I questioned Elle's use of the term "need" (line 308), where, from an expert psychological discourse, it is not appropriate to encourage dependence in relationships. Elle struggled to defend her connection to her community site, and her emotional response from within this expert discourse. She indicated she "knows" (line 310) (from an expert perspective), and I indicated that "I know" that she knows (with a loud "NO I KNOW" (line 311)). The expert discourse was not meaningful to describe what she was trying to express. Lisa assisted her by explaining that even though "this community psych is over" (lines 314-315), their connection was beyond the academic; they were "attached" (line 313) and "invested" (line 313). Elle used the phrase "I have an inner" (line 316) four times in succession, and then once more to indicate that it was about her inner state and not something she could easily explicate. Her struggle to voice this "inner" experience pointed to something beyond words. Lisa tried to assist by using "but inside" (line 317), and I tried to name it by calling it "vested" (line 321), at which point Elle expressed her conflictual experience of her community's desire to keep her there and knowing that she had to leave ("in like (.) expressing that (.) they would like us to be there (.) now I like (.) well" (lines 322-323)). Elle's statement highlights the contradictory subjectivities of being an expert and being with or part of the community experience as a human being. When an expert discourse was insufficient to describe her experience, a pastoral discourse was drawn on to highlight her connectedness with and investment in her community. Thus, the students' response to my challenge (using an expert discourse) was to switch into a pastoral discourse to defend their emotional "inner" states, which would not have been defensible within an expert discourse.

The sections above have highlighted the deployment of a pastoral discourse in terms of the service-learners' relationships with the communities they had been working with, the connections they had formed and their emotional investments in the work. The pastoral discourse was also evident in their need for support, and their relationship with me.

7.4.3 The shepherd

The role of the supervisor was highlighted above, in deploying an expert perspective. The support that students required was, however, sometimes more akin to a relationship with the shepherd – a caring, benevolent relationship of mutual sharing, not one based on superior expertise.

The excerpt below was in the context of the first session, where we were talking about how the students may respond to their experiences in their communities:

- 1017 *Mary: [You feel inadequate at this] point*
 1018 *Group: Ja*
 1019 *Carol: And to th you probably going to feel overwhelmed*
 1020 *Group: Mmm*
 1021 *Carol: And you probably going to feel I don't know what I'm doing he he*
 1022 *Lisa: You can't like give us a dirty look when we come knocking at your door*
 1023 *he he*
 1024 *Group: He he he*
 1025 *Carol: Do I give dirty looks*
 1026 *Group: [He he he he he he]*
 1027 *Lisa: [No I'm saying like when (.)] I think I'm going to be there like often he*
 1028 *he*
 1029 *((Laughter and a few unclear exchanges))*
 1030 *Carol: NO I love it I love it (..) I love it (..) I do (..) when a student comes uh we*
 1031 *just had our orientation at the school and it went so well and we so excited I*
 1032 *love that (.) and when or the person comes and says I don't know what I'm*
 1033 *doing (.) then that's fine that's fine (.) um*
 (Session 1)

In the talk, the students were positioned as likely to need help and support; they were constructed as possibly feeling “inadequate” (line 1017), “overwhelmed” (line 1019) and “not knowing” (line 1021). In response to this positioning, Lisa defended their need for help by arguing that I cannot give a “dirty look” when they approach me for assistance (“when we come knocking at your door” (line 1022)). This negotiation of their need for assistance was done in a playful, humorous manner, as indicated by the laughter. The use of humour as a strategy here can be understood as part of the negotiation of the new relationship with me. This was the first session with the students, where the nature of the relationship needed to be established. Presenting their need for support in this humorous way was a

conversational tactic to enlist my support, in other words the students were arguing: “if you want us to do this kind of work you can’t blame us for needing you”.

My response indicated that I welcomed these kinds of requests from students. I emphasised “I love it I love it (..) I love it (..) I do” (line 1030) and repeated “I love” (lines 1031-1032) in the same speech act. I also highlighted that “that’s fine that’s fine” (line 1033) when a student says “I don’t know what I’m doing” (line 1032-1033). Through this talk, we were negotiating their need for support and my willingness to offer it. I would argue a pastoral relationship was evident here, with the shepherd who is always willing to help those who are lost or injured.

The excerpt above was from session one. It is interesting to contrast it with the confessional nature of the relationship with the shepherd, which is apparent in session eight (the end of the process). The excerpt below comes from a point in the discussions where the students were negotiating the fact that they had not achieved their desired outcomes. The talk turned to an interaction between Mary and myself:

- 984 Carol: = So you were worried that you’d disappointed me =
 985 Mary: = Yes (.) that’s why I was looking away (.) and then (.) then when Elle
 986 ((Overlapping speech and burst of laughter - unclear))
 987 Mary: Then then um
 988 ((Overlapping speech and burst of laughter - unclear))
 989 Mary: Then you asked about the library and then I felt like I was (.) feeling
 990 embarrassed to explain to you (.) but then maybe me mentioning about the
 991 fact that my cousin had said that (.) it was justifying why we didn’t do it ab
 992 (.) do anything about the library (.) cos I feel bad about it
 993 Anna: Positioning positioning positioning
 994 Carol: It’s interesting that you =
 995 Mary: = I feel guilty but I’ll never admit it
 996 Group: He he he he
 997 Mary: Like I feel bad
 998 Anna: You just did
 999 Group: He he he he
 1000 Mary: Ja but
 1001 Elle: And on audio
 1002 Group: He he
 (Session 8)

In the talk, Mary provided an explanation for her behaviour towards me. This took the form of a confessional, whereby she exposed herself – her behaviour, her feelings – in such a manner that it was amusing to the group. In this act of confession, she confessed to “looking away” (line 985), not wanting to meet my eye, to being embarrassed about not achieving her goals (“feeling embarrassed to explain to you” (line 989- 990)), to her attempts to justify her non-achievement (by using her cousin’s experience as an example), and to feeling “guilty” (line 995) and “bad” (line 997). She added to the humour of the situation by explaining that she “would never admit” (line 995) to the feelings she had just admitted to, whereupon Anna and Elle reminded her of the extent to which she had revealed herself (“you just did” (line 998), “and on audio” (line 1001)). The next chapter deals with humour and laughter as an interactional device, but it can be seen here how it is used to defuse an awkward situation and to promote group coherence, as the group members tease Mary and laugh at the nature of her disclosures. This act of confession places me in the shepherd role, whereby I am the listener for the penitent. The other students are listeners too, but it is I she avoids eye contact with, and it is I she is addressing when she talks about “you” (line 989).

7.4.4 Notions of good and evil

A pastoral discourse was also deployed in the sessions where there is talk of good and evil. From this kind of talk it is apparent that student subjectivities were also constructed around being ‘good’ people, and that thoughts or actions that threatened this good subject needed to be defended against. In the extract below, we were discussing the students’ obligations to their communities and the work:

- 1350 Carol: = Cos it wasn’t like (.) formally confirmed or anything (.) I wouldn’t build
 1351 my life around that
 1352 Group: He he he he ha ha ha
 1353 ((Overlapping talk – unclear))
 1354 Carol: Plan my life around that
 1355 Lisa: It’s so nice and refreshing to hear that
 1356 Carol: Why
 1357 Anna: We not evil people
 1358 Group: He he he
 1359 Elle: I know I was feeling
 1360 Carol: No (.) you must give up everything
 1361 Kate: He he he he

(Session 6)

In this interaction I gave the students permission not to “Plan their lives around” (line 1354) tentative arrangements with their community sites. The students expressed their relief (“It’s so nice and refreshing to hear that” (line 1355)), that they were “not evil people” (line 1357). Anna’s construction of them as evil people was picked up by Elle when she stated: “I know I was feeling” (line 1359). I then used irony to indicate the students should not sacrifice all for their service-learning (“you must give up everything” (line 1360)). The use of this phrase implied the existence of an ideal subject who would give up everything for this work. Thus, in the talk there was a ‘good’ person who planned their life around their service-learning and gave up everything for the work; when the students were unable to achieve, this they were concerned about being “evil”. The pastoral discourse was evident here in the students’ concern that they were constructed as good people even though they were not giving up everything for the work. The need to be good and not-evil is meaningful within a pastoral discourse, where obedience and submission to confession of one’s sins or failings are valued.

The term “wicked” was also present in session seven, where the discussion was around the students’ agendas in their community sites:

- 1997 Carol: = *Well you do have an agenda*
 1998 *((Overlapping talk - unclear))*
 1999 Lisa: *Not a bad one*
 2000 Carol: *No no no not a [(.) ah] wicked*
 2001 Lisa: *[Ja]*
 2002 Carol: *Wicked (.) where did wicked come from*
 2003 Group: *He he he*
 2004 Carol: *Jees*
 2005 Group: *He he he he*
 (Session 7)

In the talk, Lisa argued that they had a good agenda (“not a bad one” (line 1999)); I agreed with a “no no no not a [(.) ah] wicked” (line 2000), and then demonstrated my surprise about the entrance of the term wicked (“where did wicked come from” (line 2002)) in the context of an academic discussion. Once again, the talk constructed these bipolar notions of good and bad/evil/wicked, which were meaningful in the context of a pastoral discourse.

There was no point in the text where the students explicitly identified themselves as ‘good’. The notion of good is present in the shadow of the bad and the evil. There were, however, occasions where the students portrayed themselves as good, as per Anna’s story below where she recounted a personal experience of nearly being scammed at a local shopping mall:

- 2044 Anna: [No but I think it
 2045 (.)] it is because so often (.) um (...) I told he he I won’t tell everyone but I
 2046 nearly got scammed the other day at the (.) um (.) tsa mall and I just I nearly
 2047 started crying in the Reggies because I just lost (.) my hope for humanity and I
 2048 thought (.) someone was playing on my innocence
 2049 Carol: Ja
 2050 Anna: And I have a heart for these peop for people (.) for children suffering (.)
 2051 but then (.) you know how can you trust who can you trust that (.) who’s really
 2052 suffering (.) are they using it (.) are they faking it (.) to try make money off of
 2053 you are they (.) and it’s like this whole (.) difficulty and how can I actually help
 2054 (.) and make a difference (.) but help the right people (.) the right
 2055 organisations (.) the right (.) not the people that are just wanting money to go
 2056 buy drugs and (.) and it’s difficult to know
 2057 Carol: It is difficult to know
 2058 Kate: It’s difficult to know and [()]
 2059 Anna: [Cos you want to do something now] (.) in the
 2060 moment hhh
 (Session 3)

Anna uses the talk to position herself as a good, innocent, naïve person who wants to assist others, and who is in danger of being exploited by others. In her first statement, she indicated that she was to share a secret: “I won’t tell everyone” (line 2045), thereby recruiting the other participants as supportive allies in the construction of her story and subjectivity. She then went on to present herself as vulnerable (“I nearly started crying” (line 2046)), idealistic (“my hope for humanity” (line 2047)), and innocent. A pastoral discourse was deployed in her choice of the terms: “I have a heart” (line 2050) and “children suffering” (line 2050). She also used othering (“these people” (line 2050)) to indicate that she was talking about those less fortunate than herself. Others were also those who were guilty of “using it” (line 2052) or “faking it” (line 2052) “to make money off of you” (lines 2052-2053) “to go buy drugs” (line 2055). Those were the bad people. She positioned herself in opposition to them by emphasising her desire to assist the “right”(lines 2054; 2055) people and organisations, and that she was ready for acting on her goodwill (“do

something now” (line 259)). Anna thus deployed a pastoral discourse to position herself as a good person who wanted to make a difference, but who was constrained by others whose motives were not pure and who wanted to exploit her innocence. Kate and I empathised with her position and the difficulty of telling the genuine cases from the scammers. In doing so, we identified with, and reinforced her position as a good person.

Thus, although they are not explicitly stated, notions of good and bad, virtuous and wicked, are co-constructed in the talk and demonstrate the presence of a pastoral discourse where actions, attitudes and beliefs are understood in terms of moral standards, and not academic pass rates or levels of achievement.

7.5 The consequences of the deployment of a pastoral discourse

The deployment of a pastoral discourse allows for ways of knowing, doing and being that are not afforded in the expert sphere. A pastoral discourse privileges a relationship that is genuine and caring and beneficent. In this context, the ‘caring’ subject is allowed to reign. This care is encouraged as long as it has benevolent intentions and beneficent outcomes for those involved. A pastoral discourse allows for feeling deeply, being invested in, becoming emotional, as these are all legitimate aspects of a caring relationship. In addition, a pastoral discourse recognises that we are all works in progress and thus requests for support and guidance are welcome. A pastoral discourse allows a warm, caring, self-disclosing response from the shepherd.

I would argue that a pastoral discourse may also make a claim of having the moral high ground over an expert discourse, which is cooler, critical and meta-reflective. The passion, zeal and devotion of a pastoral discourse results in the development of the ‘good’ person, who cares and makes a difference through their being. An expert discourse does not make claims about good and evil.

Also, in contrast to an expert perspective, a pastoral perspective constructs a path towards self-improvement, not along a continuum, but more as a journey that we travel together.

Self-improvement is through trial and error, through doing one's best, and through confession to one another.

7.6 Competing or complementary discourses?

The results of the analysis have thus far charted how students are constructed in contradictory ways with complicated and competing subjectivities. This chapter has presented the evidence for how two disparate discourses were deployed in the construction of those subjectivities. A closer look at the operations of those discourses in the talk highlights the intra-discourse and inter-discourse dynamics.

Intra-discourse dynamics appear to construct the participants in a bipolar manner. For example, within an expert discourse, the students were positioned as either experts or novices, skilled or inadequate, knowing or not-knowing. Within a pastoral discourse, the students struggled to preserve their 'good' subjectivity, as caring and responsible subjects. The alternative was the 'bad', disinvested, irresponsible subject, which would have been intolerable. It is in managing these bipolar subjectivities that the disparate discourses were drawn on. The inter-discourse dynamic appears to be more complementary than competitive. When the participants (including myself) struggled to maintain their preferred subjectivity within one discourse, they would switch to another discourse, where the standards, parameters, and normative courses of action were different. This strategy seemed to be utilised when the current argument in the talk was not being adequately resolved, where the discourse was insufficient to capture the experience, or where the current discourse was not offering relief. In the case of the latter, when the students became overwhelmed or emotionally involved (drawing on a pastoral discourse), they would switch to an expert discourse to provide them with distance, perspective and therefore relief. Likewise, when an expert discourse was too academic or clinical to allow them to fully express their experiences, they would shift to a pastoral discourse.

Some examples of this strategy of switching discourses have been provided in the excerpts above. Further evidence of this struggle, and its manifestation and resolution in this service-learning context, is explored in the extracts below.

412 *university and community and um my ah community partner there said Carol*
 413 *(.) who is ever going to say no to the university (.) it's a big brother little*
 414 *brother relationship cos =*
 415 *Anna: = Do you mind if I take notes*
 (Session 2).

In this passage, Mary described their surprise and pleasure at the “respect”ful, “compassionate” (line 367) and “very happy” (line 367) other they encountered. Othering is indicated in her frequent use of “they”. Her surprise is expressed in her use of the term “unfounded” (line 365), indicating that what they had experienced was unexpected. Anna reinforced her claim by indicating that their non-verbal behaviour (“they always walk us out” (line 369)) supported this perception of a respectful reception. I responded to their experience by treating it as naïve and romanticised, and presented a challenge to their perspective. I would argue that a pastoral discourse was present in Mary’s use of the terms respect and compassionate, and also in her presentation of their community’s happiness to see them. I then brought an expert perspective to bear in my challenge and critique.

I challenged the student’s experience by offering a “critical comment” (line 380). Although this was introduced tentatively (“ahhhrm around:: um (.)” (lines 379-380)), it was still unexpected for the students and brought about confusion when I recast their perception of willingness as vulnerability. Although someone in the group responded with “Mmm” (line 383), Anna politely (“(.) sorry Carol like” (line 384)) expressed her confusion. Despite my clarification (in lines 379-382), Anna still remained confused (“So” (line 386)). Lisa responded defensively, positioning herself as misunderstood (“No I didn’t mean it in that way” (line 390)). I worked to reassure and repair (“No no I know I know” (line 391)) but persisted with the challenge (“b-but (...)” (line 391)), again tentatively, but firmly. My further challenge drew on their pastorally oriented talk of “commitment” (line 392) and “passion” (line 394) to make a learning point about a “power differential” (line 396). In response to this further challenge, there was surprise (“Oh” (line 400)) from Lisa, and an extension of the challenge from me. Anna responded defensively (“[But sorry] haven’t didn’t you establish” (line 402)), upon which I sought to repair and reassure (five “yes’s” (line 405)). This all happened simultaneously, as indicated by the overlapping speech between Anna and me. Anna and I then produced a solution together in concurrent speech, where we highlighted

this as a learning point (“an aside” (line 406); “a principle” (line 407)). Lisa and Mary together express their relief (“Oh okay” (lines 408; 409)).

Following establishing the learning point, I defended my expert position by highlighting my experience (“I-I-I spent a lot of time working in a school um in E*” (line 410)) and my academic credibility (“I wrote an article” (line 411)), whereupon Anna willingly took up the novice position, as evident in her statement: “Do you mind if I take notes” (line 415).

As can be seen from the description above, there were a complicated series of moves to resolve the dissonance that my introduction of an expert discourse brought. The students were speaking easily using a pastoral discourse, and my challenge was jarring and confusing to them. There were then moves to defend, repair, reassure, and further challenge, to achieve the learning point. The problem that was being negotiated here was my apparent criticism of their experience (which they located within the pastoral realm). My challenge was only accepted when it was presented as a principle. I had to ensure that they understood I was not critiquing or minimising their experience, or accusing them of doing something wrong. The term “principle” (line 407) seemed to solve this problem, as they then understood I was using an expert discourse to extrapolate a lesson from their experience. The relief was in their realisation they were not negligent in their role. The confusion appeared to have been wrought in the switching of the discourses, moving from the pastoral to the expert. I proceeded to defend this move by staking my claim as an expert in these matters. In this extract, the interplay between the discourses was jarring, and an expert discourse was almost unwelcome. Although the discourses jarred, as participants we took care in our talking to each other – being polite, introducing things hesitantly, addressing me by my name – to manage our disagreement and to preserve the relationships within the group.

In the next excerpt, the interplay between the discourses is complementary. The excerpt demonstrates the complex interaction and shifting between the discourses, and how they are used to construct the subjectivities.

1108 *Elle: He he he he he (.) ahh do you want to start*
 1109 *Kate: Go (.) he he*

1110 Elle: Um (.) oh gosh where to start
 1111 Carol: You were [struggling with (.) what's going on]
 1112 Kate: [We were all feeling (.) ja we were all feeling]
 1113 overwhelmed at first (.) we were trying to like (figure) out (.) um what
 1114 we would do next (.) because we just felt like (.) firstly we felt unwanted
 1115 (.) but at the same time we so wanted to do everything (.) and then we
 1116 realised that (.) like we taking this entire school on (.) and the thing is like (.)
 1117 we had all these plans as workshops like fini tryna figure out what to put in
 1118 packs and stuff but we hadn't (.) established a relationship with any of them
 1119 Unclear: Mmm
 1120 Kate: [And: (.) ja (....) we were]
 1121 Elle: [(We were going) about it the complete wrong way (.)] even (.) we were
 1122 very critical of our first meeting with them
 1123 Kate: Mmm
 1124 Elle: Which just (.) was a complete failure (.) and we suddenly thought well (.)
 1125 we actually going about this (.) the complete wrong way like (.) we've
 1126 basically everything we've learnt we've just shoved out the window because
 1127 we so keen to actually get [something done]
 1128 Carol: [Something done] (.) [tangible evidence]
 1129 Lisa: [()] to say I'm successful at this
 1130 Carol: Ja
 1131 Kate: Because the thing is we were thinking about it for so long (.) and then at
 1132 our first meeting we didn't realise this is the first time are [even (.) you know]
 1133 Lisa: [Ja (.) ja (.) ja]
 1134 Carol: Setting eyes on you
 1135 Kate: And we just like jumped straight in (.) da da da participation and like you
 1136 know he he he
 1137 Anna: Like information overload
 1138 Kate: Ja
 1139 (2.2)
 1140 Elle: So that was (.) so we just suddenly realised like (.) you know what we
 1141 actually need to take a step back and um (.) you know (.) follow what we
 1142 know (.) we need to definitely establish a relationship with these people (.)
 1143 and um (.) like gosh these people
 1144 Lisa: [I'm going to highlight you]
 1145 Kate: [()] ((Both soft and unclear))
 1146 Group: Ha ha ha ha ha ha
 1147 Elle: Um (.) but I'm sorry just chatting now he he he (.) um (...) °now I've lost
 1148 my track of thought°
 1149 Carol: We spoke about how you were focusing on the project
 1150 Elle and Kate: Yes
 1151 Carol: And not on the relationship
 1152 Elle: Yes (.) and (.) we wanted (.) you know (.) we wanted everyone to just (.)
 1153 miraculously be like
 1154 ((Overlapping talk – unclear – can hear phrases 'get on board' and 'play the
 1155 part', but not clear who spoke))
 (Session 4)

In this talk, Kate and Elle constructed a narrative of how things went wrong. Kate's talk positioned them as eager ("wanting to do everything" (line 1115)), and willing to shoulder the burden ("taking on the whole school" (lines 1115-1116)), which resulted in them feeling "overwhelmed" and "unwanted". This commitment led to the error of overlooking the importance of the relationship ("but we hadn't (.) established a relationship with any of them" (lines 1117-1118)). Elle then picked up this critique of this approach ("very critical" (line 1122), "complete wrong way"). She emphasised the error of their ways ("complete failure, "complete wrong way" (line 1125)), and that this was due to them ignoring what they knew from an expert psychological perspective: "we've basically everything we've learnt we've just shoved out the window" (lines 1125-1126).

I would argue that the pastoral inhabited Kate's initial discourse, and indeed their approach, which was to take on the overwhelming burden of the school, even when they felt unwanted, and to try to make something happen. Their own critique of their approach, then switched to an expert critical eye, where they reflected how they neglected their psychological theory about how to engage with communities. The use of the terms "critical" (line 1122) and "failure" (line 1124) are indicative of this switch, for me.

Kate's further comments extended the use of this expert eye, in their careful deliberation: "we were thinking about it for so long" (line 1131), and in their use of a specific principle or technique "da da da participation" (line 1135). The use of the "da da da" (line 1135) here was a flourish to introduce the next 'player' on the stage, that is, the technique of participation. Elle's contribution then reinforced the importance of the expert perspective which would be to "take a step back" (line 1141) and "follow what we know" (lines 1141-1142) (i.e. what psychology has taught us). The distance this meta-perspective brings is evident in her use of othering in the repetition of the phrase, "these people" (line 1142). Lisa's phrase, "I'm going to highlight you" (line 1144), was an acknowledgement of the expert perspective that Elle was bringing to bear on their experience, similar to Anna's "Do you mind if I take notes" discussed above. Students would highlight important points in their readings; thus, Lisa's choice of phrase demonstrated that Elle was making significant

points. This introduction of humour by Lisa shifted the attention off the topic, and Elle had to be prompted to recall what she was saying. My prompts: “we spoke about how you were focusing on the project” (line 1149), “and not on the relationship” (line 1151), could also be considered formulating or paraphrasing (see Brown, 2004), whereby I ‘corrected’ Elle’s comments into more theoretical terms. This formulation resulted in Elle further recalling that they “wanted everyone to just (.) miraculously” (lines 1152- 153), once again drawing on a more pastoral discourse in reference to how things went wrong.

As listeners to the story, the other group members supported the telling, by giving minimal encouragers (“Mmm” (lines 1119; 1123), “ja” (line 1128) or phrases to indicate that we were following. The shared laughter (line 1146) also indicated that we were together in this endeavour.

Thus, the two discourses are deployed simultaneously in this talk, with participants switching between the two to manage their positions: fools who rushed in expecting miracles, and critical thinkers who were able to reflect on where things went wrong. In this part of the discussion, it seemed that an expert perspective saved them from the follies of their more pastoral inclinations. As discussed in some of the excerpts presented above, the opposite was true on other occasions, where a pastoral discourse freed them from the restrictive confines of an expert discourse.

It may thus be more useful to view the apparently contradictory discourses as allies in the construction of the subject who has to hold together multiple conflicting ways of being at the same time, at that particular moment. Participants deploy and co-constitute the discourses which delineate the regime of truth through which an experience, a statement, a response is understood. Participants therefore utilise these discourses to manage their stake, their position and their subjectivity, whilst at the same time, they are constructed by and within them.

The chapter that follows examines more closely the way in which different strategies and tactics are employed in this process of construction and co-constitution. Having explored

the kinds of subjects that were produced in the service-learning process, and the ways in which certain discourses inhabited those constructions and were deployed to produce those subjects, the next chapter intensifies the focus on the interactions and how these performed to produce certain outcomes in terms of power practices.

CHAPTER 8

The strategies and tactics used in the talk in the service-learning sessions

8.1 Introduction

This third and final results chapter presents the results of the micro-analysis of the data, where the strategies and tactics used in the talk are explicated. The first results chapter focused on describing the complicated subjects and the contradictory subjectivities that were constructed in the service-learning critical reflection sessions. The second results chapter explored the expert and pastoral discourses that were deployed in the construction of these subjects. This chapter narrows the focus to answer the question: What strategies and tactics were employed in the discourses or talk to effect these subject positions and subjectivities?

This chapter is primarily concerned with the way in which the service-learning experience was managed in the interactions between the participants. It therefore focuses on the talk in context. In order to do this, I utilised Wetherell's (1998) strategy of considering the contexts of conversation, alongside the repertoires and positioning made available in the talk. As described in the methodology, Wetherell (1998) recommended focusing on inconsistencies and contradictions in the text and to ask, "[W]hy this utterance here?" (p. 402). She also advised identifying how speakers made sense of conversations with interpretive repertoires, and the positions these repertoires afforded in the interaction. In implementing this, I analysed the text by asking of the data: What act was being performed through the talk; how were discursive devices used to manage interactional concerns, and what problem was the interaction attempting to solve. The results below describe a "denotative microanalysis" of the text and a subsequent "connotative macro-analysis" (Baxter, 2002, p. 833), which draws on more contextual data.

Upon working with and analysing the recordings and transcripts, it became apparent that preserving relationships in the service-learning process was paramount for all the participants. As there were only six participants in the course, the intimacy of the relationships was intensified. Employing Foucault's notion of pastoral power, it is the

relationship between the shepherd and the sheep that effects change, that produces subjects who are able to care for themselves and others. As facilitator, it was therefore vital to promote this kind of relationship with the students. The ways in which this was achieved are discussed below. In developing this chapter, I looked for frequently occurring interactions and interesting moments in the interactions, as well as what these achieved. Interesting moments were those where the unexpected happened, or where the dynamics of the session shifted noticeably as a result of the interaction.

8.2 Humour

What was noticeable upon immersion in the data is the frequency of laughter within the sessions and the group. There are many studies of the purposes of humour and laughter in interaction. Jefferson's (1979; 1984; 2004b) studies on laughter also demonstrated that it is deployed to manage interactions, and is not spontaneous and involuntary, as is often presumed. Drawing on a number of empirical studies, Greatbatch and Clark (2003) described five main functions of humour in interaction: firstly, in the creation of social cohesion and group solidarity; secondly, to challenge others in more socially acceptable ways and/or to enhance a person's self-esteem at others' expense; thirdly, to gain approval; fourthly, to manage threatening situations that evoke fear, stress or embarrassment; and lastly, to oppose or resist or express dissent. Similarly, in the current study, I found that humour and laughter were used in a variety of different ways in the talk, to diffuse tension, to soften discipline, to ease disagreement, to indicate solidarity.

The extract that follows is a continuation of that which was presented in the previous chapter regarding Elle's "inner sense" of dedication to her work in the community.

- 320 *Elle: Ja (.) it's like they (.) they are expressing (.) in like (.) expressing that (.)*
 321 *they would like us to be there (.) now I like (.) well*
 322 *Carol: So then you thinking well I'll be on holiday (.) and (.) what will I really be*
 323 *doing (.) and*
 324 *Group: [He he he]*
 325 *Kate: [That's exactly what] I was thinking =*
 326 *Carol: = HA HA HA HA*
 327 *((Overlapping talk and laughter– unclear))*
 328 *Elle: Back home at the end of November*
 329 *Group: HA HA HA ha ha*
 (Session 7)

The problem that humour was deployed to address in this extract was Elle's 'unprofessional' desire to remain in the community in which she had been working, beyond her service-learning. In lines 320 and 321, she referred to her response to their request for her continued presence, reflecting on how her thinking had changed ("now I like well" – now she was considering staying on). This kind of thinking is taboo in the realm of expert psychology, where encouraging dependence from 'clients' is frowned upon. In lines 322 and 323, I used humour to verbalise her taboo thoughts that she would have time available to continue the work. The group laughed (line 324) at the fact that I had accurately detected her secret thoughts, whereupon Kate joined with Elle by indicating in line 325 ("[That's exactly what] I was thinking ="). She thus indicated that she too was guilty of having such thoughts and thus demonstrated her solidarity with Elle. I laughed loudly at this further confession (line 326), whereupon the group all laughed and talked over each other. Given that she had already been exposed, Elle further verbalised her intention to assist the site until she went home "at the end of November" (line 328). This additional confession evoked loud laughter from the group, signalling their solidarity.

In the excerpt below, humour was used to diffuse feelings of helplessness and frustration, both with the context, and with my inability (unwillingness) to provide solutions.

812 *Lisa: Like community psychologists (.) if that's what you doing (.) because the*
 813 *societal structures are (.) poverty racism (.) all of that (.) can you really do that*
 814 *(...) I don't know I have lots of questions*
 815 *Carol: Great*
 816 *Elle: As well*
 817 *Anna: BUT I WANT THE ANSWERS:: (.) CAROL ((Bangs table like a child having*
 818 *a tantrum)) [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha and I]*
 819 *Carol: Ha ha [ha ha ha (.) what ever made you think] I had answers he he he*
 820 *((Overlapping talk and laughter – unclear))*
 821 *Anna: That's what's frustrating is there (.) there aren't (.) like (.) [and you can*
 822 *read millions]*
 823 *Elle:* *[The answers*
 824 *are within you]*
 825 *Group: OOOOOOOOOOOOOOH*
 (Session 4)

In the extract, Lisa made a plea for assistance, which I refused to offer. Humour was used to manage the tension this evoked. In lines 812-814, Lisa expressed her sense of helplessness

and uncertainty at what can be achieved in a context of structural inequality (“societal structures are (.) poverty racism” (line 813)). My response to her statement that she had “lots of questions” was “Great” (line 815), in other words, celebrating her uncertainty and confusion. Elle’s “as well” in line 816 appears to be a statement of agreement with Lisa’s uncertainty. Elle identified with Lisa’s positioning. My unexpected response of “Great” (as opposed to a more likely sympathetic stance) was not well received by Anna whose verbal “BUT I WANT THE ANSWERS:: (.) CAROL” and her non-verbal banging of hands on the table, reminiscent of a recalcitrant child, were softened with her laughter (lines 817; 818) and with her exaggeration of the behaviour, which indicated that the ‘tantrum’ was deliberate.

Humour was used here to diffuse the tension between what the students wanted me to provide (answers – as would be the norm in other psychology courses), and what I was able and willing to offer (my own ignorance - “what ever made you think] I had answers” (line 819)). My not being able to provide solutions, combined with my pleasure at their questions and uncertainty (“Great”), had the potential for dissatisfaction towards me. This was negotiated through the use of humour by Anna and me. Anna stated that the literature did not hold answers either (“and you can read millions]” (lines 821-822)), demonstrating further frustration. In her statement, she deflected the blame for their uncertainty away from me, indicating that even millions of readings could not provide the answers they were looking for. Elle added to the group frustration by suggesting that they already knew the answers (“The answers are within you” (lines 823-824)). This statement was also an act of collusion with me, as it advised the other students not to look to me for solutions. The group responded with a combined and loud “OOOOOOOOOOOH”, a joking, mocking expression in response to Elle’s statement, and her collusion with me.

Humour was also used in managing the tension associated with difficult topics. In the excerpt below the issues of race and sexuality were managed through humour. In Chapter six it was reported that having to do a workshop on sexuality resulted in the students feeling somewhat liberated in relation to something that, in their cultural context, would have been taboo. Lisa’s talk needs to be understood in relation to that context. In addition, the discussion in the session had been around positioning in relation to race and gender, and

how the students perceived they were positioned by their community partners. Thus, the interaction below was in the context of these difficult topics. [For further clarity a samoosa, as referred to in the talk, is a traditional Indian food item which is hot and spicy.]

- 1822 Carol: *In that context (.) before you even open your mouth (.) just because of*
 1823 *how you look*
 1824 Lisa: *It's amazing that (.) sexual workshop we had (.) sexual responsibility (.)*
 1825 *when I asked them (.) like you can ask questions about anything like related*
 1826 *with the topic (.) what is a samoosa (.) [like I'm Indian (.) so ask me what a*
 1827 *samoosa is when we talking about sexual responsibility (.) like]*
 1828 Group: *[Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha]* *ha ha ha ha ha*
 1829 *((Overlapping talk and laughter - unclear))*
 1830 Carol: *I don't know is that a new sexual position*
 1831 Group: *HA HA HA HA HA ha ha ha*
 1832 Carol: *Sounds hot*
 1833 Group: *HA HA HA HA HA ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha*
 1834 *((Overlapping talk and laughter - unclear))*
 (Session 7)

Prior to this segment of talk, the discussion had considered serious issues around positioning and race. Line 1822 refers to how the students were positioned in the community context, by how they looked. The “how you look” statement referred to physical differences in appearance across race. Lisa drew on this feature of interactions in communities by identifying herself as Indian (“I’m Indian” (line 1826)). Her talk was an attempt to share her experience of how she was constructed in racial terms. She used humour to discharge the tension this positioning evoked.

Her statement highlighted how race issues overshadowed the content of what she was dealing with (sexuality). The children she was working with were more interested in finding out about aspects of her race and culture (by enquiring about a “samoosa”) than asking questions relevant to the topic. Her statement was also an expression of frustration of people’s incapacity to move beyond race. Her style of reporting, though, set this up as a joke, “[like I’m an Indian (.) so ask me what a samoosa is when we talking about sexual responsibility (.) like]” (lines 1826-1827). The use of the word “like” at the beginning and end of the statement indicates a more colloquial tone than the rest of her speech. Ironically, her depiction of her workshop participants as pre-occupied with race also served to stereotype them as naïve and ignorant about other cultures or races. She therefore

constructed quite a disparaging characterisation of this 'other'. The group's response (described below) smoothed over this characterisation, which was allowed to pass as unproblematic. My turns in the talk further colluded with this covering of the problematic aspects of this talk, by using sexual innuendo to draw the focus away from the racial dimensions of the talk.

The group demonstrated their joint indignation and amusement (and collusion) with loud laughter (line 1828). I took advantage of this moment of light relief and extended the joke in line 1830 ("I don't know is that a new sexual position") and 1832 ("Sounds hot"), deflecting attention away from the negative characterisation of the workshop audience. The students responded with more laughter. Once again, humour was used to ease tension and to create solidarity. My extension of the joke by using sexual innuendo was also an indication that we could talk about such matters in this critical reflection context.

In addition to demonstrating the functions of humour and laughter in the sessions, this excerpt also highlighted the gendered intimacy that was generated in the group sessions. As noted previously, all the participants in the service-learning course were female. The use of sexual innuendo in the talk in this excerpt gives salience to this issue of gender. An all-female group allowed certain kinds of talk (as in the above excerpt) that could have been considered risqué in a mixed gender group. The gendered intimacy in this context also served to construct a kind of female solidarity, which also made certain kinds of disclosures possible. For example, in Chapter six, Mary was constructed as liberated through her engagement with previously taboo issues of sexuality. She confessed, during this talk, that she was inexperienced in these matters. This kind of disclosure may not have been possible in a mixed gender group. The interfusion of gender, intimacy and disclosure are discussed more in the last section of this chapter.

The excerpts provided above demonstrate how humour and laughter were used to navigate difficult situations in the interactions: taboo thoughts, uncertainty, helplessness and frustration, and sensitive topics. The excerpts also demonstrate how the use of these

strategies also promoted group cohesion and solidarity. This solidarity was important for the establishment of a group norm, which would require self-governance to adhere to.

8.3 Garnering enthusiasm

Another tactic frequently used in the interaction was the generation of enthusiasm. McCuaig et al. (2011) reported the use of encouragement and inspiration in the governance of learners in a physical education class. They noted the use of encouragement to reinforce certain behaviours as desirable. These were also evident in the talk in this course. Beyond this, I also used my own enthusiasm to model the expected standard of engagement (wholehearted) with the service-learning. In Chapter six, I described the enthusiastic subject and how she was constructed in the talk. Using the extract below, I provide a closer analysis of the tactics used to generate enthusiasm. Prior to this excerpt, the discussion was about the vast difference between theoretical concepts and their practical application. In line 1390, I extended an invitation to the students to “tell me about the reality”. This statement served to open up the discussion to whatever the students wanted to say.

- 1390 Carol: *So tell me about the reality*
 1391 Mary: *Oh my word*
 1392 Carol: *What's been going on (.) [what have you been doing why is it an oh my*
 1393 *word]*
 1394 Mary: *[He he he he he he]*
 1395 Lisa: *I'm just keep quiet (.) I only have bad things to say*
 1396 Carol: *It's okay↑*
 1397 Lisa: *He he he ((Gestures to Anna to talk))*
 1398 Anna: *Um (.) I think that um (.) what we basically decided we needed a*
 1399 *change (.) direction [we'd done the four]*
 1400 Carol: *[Yes the last thing that we knew or that I knew (.)]*
 1401 *cos you guys keep it from me*
 1402 Group: *He he he he he*
 1403 Lisa: *We don't have anything to tell you that we not going to tell you*
 1404 Carol: *NO (.) it's not that it's remember I saw [you and]*
 1405 Lisa: *[Oh ja]*
 1406 Carol: *I said I'm dying to ask you but it feels like cheating if I ask you out of the*
 1407 *session (.) so um (.) I know that you last ran a sexuality workshop (.) and the*
 1408 *you were going to try and change tack a little bit (.) so I don't know*
 (Session 5)

My invitation resulted in Mary responding with an, “Oh my word” (line 1391), indicating an overwhelming experience. Through these words, she communicated that what she had experienced was unbelievable. My response in lines 1392 and 1393 communicated curiosity and a desire to know “What’s been going on” (line 1392). I thus positioned their experience as worthy of interest and enquiry. In line 1394, Mary laughed at my unbridled curiosity. She communicated amusement at the fact that they know and I do not. Lisa indicated that she did not want to contribute as she only had “bad things to say” (line 1395). This further emphasised the construction that the reality was unbelievable or intolerable. My “It’s okay” (line 1396) was a further invitation that students should talk freely, even if their contributions were negative. Lisa then nominated Anna to speak for the group (through her non-verbal gesture, line 1397).

Anna took up the invitation and provided a summary of what they had done and their decision to change direction. At this point, I escalated my curiosity by making claims of ignorance, and that they had been keeping it from me (lines 1400-1401). This accusation was taken up by the group as humorous (laughter in line 1402) and resulted in a reassurance from Lisa (“We don’t have anything to tell you that we not going to tell you” (line 1403)). In my next turn, I clarified my position, which was that I had seen Lisa and wanted to get an update but had to hold myself back from “cheating” (line 1406) by asking outside of the session. Using the term “dying to know” (line 1406) indicated that what the students had to report was worthy of my curiosity and attention. The use of the term “cheating” indicated a quick route to the pleasure of knowing which was not allowed/against the rules. (Rules need to exist to make cheating possible). Thus, in this talk I modelled enthusiasm for knowing, I constructed excitement about the value of the students’ experiences, and I opened up opportunities for reporting, even negative, thoughts. In turn, the students responded with amusement and reassurances, placating me and my enthusiastic curiosity, and enjoying being in the position of holding knowledge that was considered worthwhile.

A further tactic for generating enthusiasm was imbuing the experience with meaning. In the excerpt below, the students were talking about their experiences at their sites. Lisa reported

that she was glad that she had persevered (as opposed to withdrawing from the course and doing another elective (s**)):

- 353 *Lisa: It it touched my heart really and then when we drove back (.) I think I*
 354 *said like (.) I'm so glad I*
 355 *Carol: Mmmm*
 356 *Lisa: I decided to stick with it because (...) I don't that just stood out for me*
 357 *Anna: Cos on the way there you said you were scared you were gonna (.) take*
 358 *the easy way out and do =*
 359 *Lisa: = And drop*
 360 *Anna: You know do s** and drop and I said to you no but you gonna be so*
 361 *Mary: It's going to be rewarding*
 362 *Anna: This is going to be so much more rewarding*
 363 *Lisa: And that's*
 364 *Anna: And afterwards you were like yes*
 (Session 2)

In lines 353, 354 and 356 Lisa commented on how she was moved by her experience in her community, and that she was glad she did not decide to withdraw from the service-learning course as she had intended. By claiming, “It it touched my heart” (line 353), she demonstrated her emotional connection to the work. She also positioned herself as one who perseveres by deciding “to stick with it” (line 356). Anna joined in with this narrative of Lisa’s bravery by reminding her “you were scared you were gonna (.) take the easy way out” (line 358), which Lisa acknowledged with no hesitation “=and drop” (line 359). Anna also promoted her own role in Lisa’s decision (“I said to you no” (line 360)). Mary joined the exchange by indicating that the experience would be “rewarding” (line 361), which Anna echoed and expanded on with “so much more rewarding” (line 362). The story finished with “And afterwards you were like yes” (line 364), indicating that following their visit to their community site, Lisa confirmed her commitment. Through the talk, the students constructed Lisa, and by association themselves, as brave and persevering, and of not taking the easy way out. They therefore demonstrated that they were committed to hard work, which was in turn constructed as moving, rewarding and meaningful. Mary, Lisa and Anna all participated in reinforcing each other’s perspectives to achieve this imbuelement of meaning on the service-learning.

In addition, the talk achieved an in-group by differentiating the students from others who took other electives like s** (line 360), which were by implication ‘easier’ and did not

require the kind of dedication that the service-learners were expected to have. Service-learning was therefore constructed as special or unique in this talk and, due to the fact that the students were participating in the course, by association, this in-group was constructed as special. From a Foucauldian perspective, this talk would constitute a dividing practice (Foucault, 1982), dividing the service-learning subjects from other students. Thus, group identity and cohesion were also promoted in this kind of talk. A norm of enthusiastic commitment was thus constructed for the students to govern themselves with.

8.4 Self-disclosure and leading by example

Foucault (2007) emphasised that the example that the shepherd sets is not one of perfection. It is important that the shepherd make her failings known to the flock so that they may learn through her mistakes. Part of the exposure of her imperfections is through repentance and humility. The data revealed many occasions where I shared my own examples of experiences of working in communities, and my failures.

In the excerpt below, I confessed my emotional and unprofessional self:

707 Carol: = I al another experience I had was I was having a meeting: (.) and it
 708 was at 1 o'clock or 1 30 and no one arrived and it was half (.) it was 2 15 and I
 709 was sitting I was crying because no one had arrived for the meeting and the
 710 peop and people walked in for the meeting and the se found me crying and
 711 they said what's going on (.) what are you crying about and said well (.)
 712 nobody was here and you 45 minutes late and they said (.) we'll get here
 713 when we can (.) and you need to trust that and (.) this is important to us too
 714 Anna: [Ooo (.) that's frustrating]
 715 Carol: [But it's so unprofessional] to cry
 (Session 3)

I used the long narrative above to demonstrate my own emotional response to this kind of work and its frustrations. The word “crying” was repeated three times in the story (lines 709; 710; 711) to ensure that the message about my “unprofessional” (line 715) emotional responses was delivered. I emphasised that it was “so unprofessional to cry” (line 715). Anna tried to offer understanding (“Ooo (.) that's frustrating” (line 714)), indicating that the confession I was trying to make about my unprofessional behaviour had been conveyed. Similarly, in the extract below Lisa brought up a story I had told them about a failed intervention in a school; I used her memory of this to demonstrate my failure.

722 *Lisa: Like when you went to that (.) the story that you told [us (.) that you*
 723 *went to] the school ((talking to Elle))*
 724 *Anna: [Oh (.) that's toilet]*
 725 *Lisa: And the school and the bucket and so many kids (.) and even though (.)*
 726 *you are this one person (.) and it's obviously not just that school that's um*
 727 *Carol: But I didn't make any difference*
 728 *Lisa: But how do you know that you didn't make a =*
 729 *Carol: = I didn't make any di nothing's happened nothing's changed*
 730 *Lisa: But still you made the effort to (.) if nobody makes the effort then there*
 731 *will be [(.) somewhere along the line]*
 732 *Mary: [Cos there'll never be change]*
 733 *Lisa: Someone's effort is making a difference and is trying =*
 734 *Anna: = And someone might [think (.) Carol]*
 735 *Carol: [Let's keep] believing that (.) no I'm not being*
 736 *sarcastic we have to hold on to that*
 (Session 6)

What is interesting about this talk is that the roles of shepherd and sheep were reversed. In the talk, the students tried to offer me reassurance about my failed intervention. I had previously told them about the difficulties of intervening in a system and disrupting relationships, and I had used an example from my own experience to relate this lesson. Here Lisa referred back to that story (where the children had a bucket in the corner for a toilet) and reassured me, reminding me "you are this one person" (line 726). I refused her reassurance with "But I didn't make any difference" (line 727). There was then a rapid exchange of further reassurance and refusal ("Lisa: But how do you know that you didn't make a = Carol: = I didn't make any di nothing's happened nothing's changed") (lines 728-729), whereupon Lisa changed her tactic, to commending my effort "But still you made the effort" (line 730). She was joined by Mary and Anna in trying convince me that having tried was better than no effort at all. My overall scepticism was evident in my comment "[Let's keep] believing that (.) no I'm not being sarcastic" (lines 735-736), as I had to reassure them that I was not being sarcastic when I spoke about maintaining belief (keeping the faith).

This piece of talk tried to deal with a problem of disillusionment. The students assumed the role of shepherd here, comforting and reassuring me regarding my failed attempt at an intervention. Together, they took care to commend me for my efforts. The message that was conveyed here was that one must persevere against the odds, and that even one

person can make a difference. They carefully used questioning “how do you know” (line 728) and suggestions of alternative outcomes to try to convince me that my attempts had not been futile. Thus, the confession of the failing of the shepherd indeed evokes renewed commitment to the cause from the flock. In their reassurance of me, they produced an argument for themselves to remain dedicated in the face of failure.

8.5 Disciplining

Given the emphasis on preserving the pastoral relationship, issues of discipline were of interest, as these could potentially damage that bond. Two excerpts are presented below, as they present different responses to how discipline was received and managed. Both extracts deal with the issue of othering, where students were confronted with their use of “they” and “them”. The first extract is from the first session, where I used Anna’s talk to provide a lesson to all the students.

- 1096 *Anna: And um (.) the was so rewarding is how grateful they are (.) and how*
 1097 *they (.) have so little (.) so much less than what you have (.) yet (.) they don’t*
 1098 *complain (.) they happy they grateful for what they do have (.) yet we like (.)*
 1099 *often complain [when we have] so much more*
 1100 *Carol: [It’s very humbling]*
 1101 *Group: Ja,*
 1102 *Unclear: It’s very humbling*
 1103 *Carol: (.) I’m going to um I’m going challenge you two you probably expecting*
 1104 *me to challenge watch we need to watch our discourse and we all do it (.) the*
 1105 *they*
 1106 *Anna: Oh*
 1107 *Carol: The them and us*
 1108 *Anna: Mmm*
 1109 *Carol: So immediately I’m gonna I’m gonna challenge you about about that (.)*
 1110 *and ah we also talk about the community as if it’s a single entity (.) and so*
 1111 *working in communities (.) makes it much more diverse and broad and our*
 1112 *community our ja ((Anna emphasises/repeats Carol’s main points softly))*
 1113 *Anna: It is ours*
 1114 *Elle: (unclear)*
 1115 *Carol: Ja so*
 1116 *Elle: It’s half an hour away from us*
 1117 *Anna: So true like (.) you do it without even thinking*
 1118 *Carol: Yes*
 1119 *Anna: Oh my word*
 1120 *Carol: Yes*
 1121 *Group: [He he he he he he]*
 1122 *Elle: [He he welcome to Carol’s class] he he he*

1123 *Anna: No but it's actually like revolting*
 1124 *Carol: No no it's*
 1125 *Anna: () that you think like that that I think like that*
 1126 *Carol: No it's it's what we all do so (.)*
 1127 *Elle: [That's the point of this]*
 1128 *Carol: [and you just] happen to be the first person who said the the the them*
 1129 *or the they and everybody will say it including me and*
 1130 *Anna: Make yourself seem like so superior*
 1131 *Carol: You we will all call each other on it*
 1132 *Lisa: We need an elastic band and then you snap*
 1133 *Group: He he he he*
 1134 *Elle: Sit here like shooting bands at each other he he*
 1135 *Anna: Like whack (.) you did it again*
 (Session 1)

As can be seen in the excerpt, I offered a challenge to Anna, which came as a surprise to her, following which there were a series of interactions that were about remorse and repair. The extract opened with Anna sharing her experience of working with disadvantaged communities, possibly in an attempt to position herself as aware of the issues of privilege. In her talk she constructed a “grateful” (line 1098) other. This othering was achieved through the frequent and sometimes emphatic use of the word “they”. My contribution (“it’s very humbling” (line 1100)) suggested to the students an alternative position they could adopt in these kinds of encounters. Anna’s talk constructed a paternalistic ‘we’, that is, the we who have so much, the they who have so little; my talk constructed a humble ‘we’, though how different these two positions are is open to debate.

Following her sharing of her experience, I extended a challenge to her (which I overtly named a “challenge” (line 1103)). The manner in which I launched the challenge was tentative (“(.) I’m going to um I’m going” (line 1103)), there was a pause, a repetition, an ‘um’ which all indicated some hesitancy. I then referred to two of the students (Elle and Kate) when I said “you two you probably expecting me to challenge” (lines 1103-1104). By drawing them in in this manner, I positioned them as allies in my challenge to Anna. These two students had previously done service-learning with me. By indicating that they were “expecting me”, I positioned what I was about to do as part of my role as facilitator. Challenge was a legitimate part of the responsibilities of the facilitator and a routine part of

training. The fact that Anna was the target of this lesson was secondary; this was not a personal attack on her. I was performing my duty.

I also used the term “we” (line 1104) to indicate that we were all implicated in the error that I was about to challenge Anna on. Anna was not alone in making this kind of mistake. Anna indicated her surprise (“Oh” (line 1106)) that she had made an error, whereupon I extended the challenge. Anna demonstrated her obedience/submission by repeating my main points whilst I was talking. Elle then demonstrated her agreement with me (line 1116), taking up the position of confederate that my talk had offered her. Anna again demonstrated her surprise “Oh my word” (line 1119) and attempted a defence (“you do it without thinking” (line 1117)). The group laughed (line 1121) at Anna’s surprise and whilst laughing, Elle stated “welcome to Carol’s class” (line 1122). The use of this phrase here indicated that “Carol’s class” was a different kind of space to what the students may be used to. It differentiated Carol’s class as a place to expect these kinds of challenges and surprises. It also served to construct the challenge as a normal activity in this context.

Anna declared her shame at her error (“it’s actually like revolting” (line 1123)), and owned her ‘sin’ (“that I think like that” (line 1125)). In line 1124 I tried to repair and reassure, and continued in lines 1126 and 1128-1129. I frequently used the term “we” to indicate that we were all guilty of this sin, and that we were all in this together. Elle reiterated that “the point of this” (line 1127) class was to expose these errors. Whilst Anna continued to express her shame (line 1130), the rest of us tried to reassure her (“we will all call each other” (line 1131), “We need an elastic band” (line 1132), “Sit here shooting bands” (line 1134)). These statements served to normalise her error. These statements also seemed to be about promoting solidarity – we were all in this together.

This excerpt therefore demonstrates how discipline was enacted, tentatively but firmly, supported by the group, and with an attempt to build solidarity beyond the moment of discipline. Challenge was accompanied by repair and pardon, and by explaining that the student was being used as a learning point for ‘us all’. Solidarity was important in easing the tension of this moment, with other participants joining in to ease Anna’s guilt and shame.

These two instances of discipline are interesting in the manner in which the discipline was executed and how it was received. In the first extract, I hesitantly introduced the fact that I was going to make a challenge; in the second extract, I launched straight in, without any warning, with a critical (possibly nasty?) correction. In the first instance, the discipline was accepted and solidarity was maintained; the group shared in the learning. In second instance, it was an interaction between myself and a single student, with the other students (e.g. Anna) ready to move beyond that moment of correction, and participating very little, if at all. Mary was silenced by my talk.

Thus, although the pastoral relationship was prioritised, there were moments when this was not maintained, moments of challenge or discipline that were awkward or problematic. Enforcing discipline was about trying to ensure students recognised the need for governance through techniques of the self.

8.6 Managing disagreement and resistance

In addition to moments of discipline and correction, there were also instances of disagreement and resistance in the discussions. Again, we were careful to manage our conduct in such a manner as to try to preserve relationships. The excerpt below is from session five, where the students were struggling with disillusionment and frustration. One team of students, in particular, were struggling with a situation in their community where the school had donated books and shelves but were not using these resources. I tried to present them with a suggestion for how they could move beyond the impasse they were experiencing.

- 1698 Carol: So you need to understand why people aren't using the things that are
 1699 there and so I want (.) how do you get there (.) that's what (.) that's what I'm
 1700 asking
 1701 Elle: Mmm (.) °how do you not step on peoples toes (.) by asking°
 1702 Carol: How do you (.) how do you try and understand (.) how do you try and
 1703 understand (.) cos at the moment you're imposing what you think (..)
 1704 Anna: [True]
 1705 Mary & Lisa: [Mmm]
 1706 Carol: So ah please un you not in trouble (.) you know that hey (.) you not in
 1707 trouble with me
 1708 Group: He he he [he he he he] he he he he
 1709 Anna: [Yes we know that Carol]

1710 Carol: Okay (.) [it's how the]
 1711 Anna: [I'm feeling] so like
 1712 ((Overlapping talk – unclear))
 1713 Anna: Honestly I've been feeling like I've got other things I need to do right
 1714 now
 (Session 5)

In lines 1698-1700, I instructed the students that they needed to develop a new understanding of their context. Whilst agreeing, Elle quietly presented another challenge to developing this understanding (line 1701). I pushed the students further in lines 1702 and 1703, and emphasised that they were “imposing” their perspectives on their community partners. (There are a number of pauses in my speaking, both here and in the first turn, and a number of repetitions, that indicate some hesitancy in me conveying my questions). There was agreement of this observation from the students (“true” (line 1704), and “mmm” (line 1705)). This statement of agreement from the students appeared not to have been believed by me as, in my next turn, I took up the issue again and declared that they were “not in trouble” (lines 1706-1707), repeating it twice. There was thus challenge then reassurance. The group responded to the idea of “being in trouble” with laughter (line 1708), and Anna reassured me further (“Yes we know that Carol” (line 1709)). This reassurance of not being in trouble then provided permission for Anna to share how negative she was feeling about the process (lines 1711; 1713). This intervention from me thus licensed honesty.

This excerpt demonstrates students’ resistance to the service-learning process, and that this was handled with challenge and reassurance from both myself and the students. The use of the phrase “you are not in trouble with me” performed a number of functions. At the overt level, it was a reassurance, but what it implied is that there was a possible position of being “in trouble” that the students needed to be aware of and steer away from. The “with me” part of the statement set me firmly in a position of authority, as I was the one to be concerned about being “in trouble” with. Thus, instead of merely being a reassurance, it also reminded students of my authority and their position as subordinates, and possibly served as a warning for imagined future scenarios.

This complex interplay between tolerance and students' resistance was also evident in the excerpt below, where students were discussing the multiple roles of a community psychologist and were expected to submit a written piece in this regard.

- 1407 *Anna: Um (.) Elle you mentioned as a researcher*
 1408 *Carol: Ja*
 1409 *(1.6)*
 1410 *Elle: () research ((Fake crying voice, unclear))*
 1411 *Carol: Hmm↑*
 1412 *Elle: I want to vomit I'm vomiting research at the moment he he he*
 1413 *Lisa: I feel like [()]*
 1414 *Carol: [Vomit it] onto a page okay*
 1415 *Group: He he he he*
 1416 *Carol: Just vomit onto your half a page a [(.) Kate's doing (..) ja] we*
 1417 *sympathetic hey*
 1418 *Kate: [He he he he he]*
 (Session 6)

In this extract, Elle was resistant to the task and expressed this with a fake crying voice (line 1410). I responded to this with a "hmm" as a question, whereupon she indicated her disgust "I want to vomit" (line 1412). I refused this resistance with an instruction which drew on humour ("[Vomit it] onto a page okay" (line 1414)), which the group laughed at (line 1415), whereupon I repeated the instruction to "vomit onto your half a page" and moved onto the next student. I then used sarcasm to indicate that I was being humorous ("ja] we sympathetic hey" (lines 1416-1417)). In this instance, resistance was managed with humour both by the students and myself. Elle introduced humour with her fake crying voice and the use of hyperbole, and I extended her parody by using more humour. Although humour was used to mediate the interaction, the instruction was still clear – Elle needed to do what was asked of her, no matter what.

The interplay between tolerance and resistance is complicated by the context of the pastoral relationship and the privileging of the relationship above other goals. Resistance thus seemed to be enacted in the talk through the use of mockery, humour or hyperbole, thus manifesting as 'mock' resistance. In a similar fashion, tolerance was also enacted through these tactics, and thus could also have been construed as a pretence of tolerance, as students still needed to submit to my authority, despite my talk to the contrary.

Whilst silence is frequently understood as an effect of power, silence can also be understood as resistance. Fivush (2010) explained that in choosing to remain silent, a person exercises their freedom not to speak, to not have to explain or justify. Foucault (1990) argued that, just as discourse has the power to construct or disrupt, so silence can also loosen the hold of power. Silences occurred seldom during the sessions, and when they did, they did not seem to be about ‘real’ resistance to the process. For example, in the extract below, there was a silence after I asked the students how they were going to proceed:

- 1792 Carol: *[Okay (.) and now you guys are going to go] shortly*
 1793 *now and ah (.) so what's your plan*
 1794 *(3.2)*
 1795 Anna: *Arrive*
 1796 Group: *He he he he [he he] he he he he [he he he he he] he he he he*
 1797 Elle: *[Good plan]*
 (Session 6)

In line 1792, I posed a question to the students, which was met by silence, and then a humorous reply. Anna's response “arrive” (line 1795), which elicited laughter from everyone, could be construed as impertinent, and therefore a form of resistance to the authority I was trying to exert by enquiring about their plan. The resistance was, however, done in a humorous way so as not to cause offense.

There was the rare occasion when the students would challenge me directly. The excerpt below was from the last session, where the students were deliberating their lack of tangible outcomes in their communities. The discussion was about how they had wanted to launch successful interventions, and how little they had achieved. The talk turned to the reasons for this need for tangible outcomes; in this excerpt, responsibility for this was placed on me. Elle, softly and gently, directed a challenge towards me:

- 1312 Elle: *Um about the whole thing of you never said to us (.) we need to do*
 1313 *something in the community (.) °but you did° he he he he (.) um (.) you said to*
 1314 *us (.) in your first meeting (.) go and ask them what they (.) not no (.) don't it*
 1315 *was that whole thing about not imposing (.) you know what you think the*
 1316 *commun that the school needs but you were saying (.) you need to ask them*
 1317 *what you want us to do in the school (.) and it was (.) you need to be doing*
 1318 *something in the school*
 1319 *(2.4)*

1320 Carol: Okay
 1321 Elle: Maybe we misinter [maybe you]
 1322 Carol: [Noo]
 1323 ((Overlapping speech - unclear))
 1324 Anna: Well obviously we had to do something
 1325 Carol: Yes
 1326 Elle: We couldn't just sit there and eat sandwiches he he he
 (Session 8)

In lines 1312-1318, Elle crafted a challenge to something I had previously said. She directed it towards me, “about the whole thing of you never said to us” (line 1312), “° but you did°”(line 1313). She took my claim of not directing them and made a counter-claim. The counter-claim was direct: “you did” (line 1313), an accusation, but this was said softly and was followed by a laugh, a pause, an “um”, another pause, indicating some hesitancy (“he he he (.) um (.)” (line 1313)) and softening of the accusation. The rest of her talk in these lines was aimed at providing evidence and backing her accusation. There was silence following her claim against me (line 1319), and then an acknowledgement from me (“Okay” (line 1320)), following which Elle moved to make an opening to retract her claim (“Maybe we minister [maybe you]” (line 1321)), by offering the option that I was possibly misinterpreted. I rejected her retraction (“Noo” (line 1322)), opening the possibility that her accusation had substance. Anna moved to join Elle (“Well obviously we had to do something” (line 1325)), adding evidence for the claim against me, which I acceded to (“Yes” (line 1325)). Elle then used humour to soothe the interaction (line 1326). Once again, this talk indicated the sequence of challenge and attempt to repair, only this time the challenge was directed at me and not at the students.

8.7 On being exposed

An interesting moment occurred in the last session, where Elle called attention to my role as facilitator of change, and possibly as researcher. Her observation of our interaction at a meta-reflective level exposed my transformative agenda and served to highlight what I was trying to achieve as facilitator. As indicated in Chapter six, the objectives of the programme were stated in the course guide and at the outset. In addition, the goals of the research process were also explained to the students and there was no deception necessary to achieve the purposes of the research. Whilst students were very aware of the research

purposes, with video-recordings taking place at every session, this appeared to fade into the background as the work progressed. However, Elle's talk in the extract below either brought this back into the foreground, or revealed that at some level the participants were aware that they were 'performing' for research purposes.

- 929 Carol: *What's the guilt (.) guilt of what*
 930 *(1.0)*
 931 Elle: *Umm (.) of not having gone about the process correctly*
 932 Carol: *Hah*
 933 Lisa: *But there's no guideline there's*
 934 Elle: *No no no about*
 935 Carol: *That's interesting hey*
 936 Elle: *He he he he he he (.) am I in a cage (.) dance for me monkey*
 937 Group: *Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha*
 938 Carol: *STAND on the table*
 939 Group: *Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha*
 940 Elle: *Um (.) about =*
 941 Carol: *= No I think expressing what other people might be feeling and I'm just*
 942 *interested to interrogate it a bit*
 (Session 8)

In this interaction, I made an enquiry about Elle's guilt feelings (line 929), which she tried to explain after a pause (line 931). I then proclaimed "Hah" (line 932), an expression of catching someone out. Lisa joined in the talk (line 933) in an attempt to reassure Elle. The exchange from line 935 onwards is what is most illuminating. In line 935, I evaluated Elle's contribution as "interesting", to which Elle responded with a laugh and the query "am I in a cage (.) dance for me monkey" (line 936). Her talk here indicated her awareness that she was under scrutiny and was expected to perform like a circus trick (a dancing monkey). Her use of this term positioned her as a subject of research, as an object of interest and as having to fulfil an obligation to perform. With this phrase, she demonstrated a meta-perspective on the process and brought the process into focus. The group laughed at her comment (line 937), and I did not deny her observation or analogy, but extended it by commanding her to "STAND on the table" (line 938). This was also amusing for the group (line 939). I then provided a defence for my interest (lines 941-942). In providing this defence, I used the word "interrogate" (line 948), acknowledging the level of scrutiny she was subjected to and had highlighted.

Elle's observation may be seen to indicate a certain level of compliance that the students were aware of and were willing to perform to complete the course. It highlights that this was an interactional process, whereby their compliance indicated that they were willing to be conducted or governed by me, and that this was only possible as long as they took up this position. As Foucault highlighted, subjects can choose their own ways of being, by deciding: "By whom do we consent to be directed or conducted? How do we want to be conducted? Towards what do we want to be led?" (Foucault, 2007, p. 264). My role as facilitator, leading them towards particular goals, was only possible as long as the students were willing to be in the dancing monkey cage.

8.8 Strategies and tactics in the service-learning context

Within the service-learning field, facilitators (lecturers) continually try to balance two goals of promoting learning and ensuring appropriate community engagement. The literature review has argued that this is often with the purpose of producing active citizens. If one considers the strategies and tactics within this context described above, there was a focus on the relationships within the service-learning process, which were given priority and protected by all the participants, through polite and respectful exchanges (for the most part). I would argue that the relationship is prioritised because it is through this that the effects of pastoral power are most powerfully achieved and maintained.

With regard to the learning goal, in analysing classroom talk, Mercer (2001) reported an I-R-F sequence (initiation-response-feedback) as the archetypal structure for these interactions. The talk in the service-learning reflection sessions often seemed to follow a challenge-repair or reassure-challenge sequence, or even a challenge-surprise-repair-challenge sequence. Most frequently, I would challenge students, which resulted in surprise or defence and then repair and reassurance from myself, and then possibly further challenge to reinforce the critical point being made. The challenges seemed to be about promoting learning goals, which often involved bringing an expert discourse to bear on students' largely pastorally oriented reports of their experiences. This juxtaposition was sometimes the reason for the surprise. There were times when students challenged me, which was variably received, and

then quickly sought to repair the relationship. Following these exchanges, efforts would be made to reinforce solidarity and group cohesion; humour was often used for this purpose. Thus, within the service-learning context, the strategies and tactics seemed to converge around the goals of promoting learning, preserving the relationship, fostering solidarity and promoting group cohesion. From the perspective of pastoral power, cohesion ensures the flock stay together and are obedient to their calling. Solidarity is also about remaining true to the cause and operating within group norms. In addition to humour and laughter, this was also promoted through garnering enthusiasm for the work and imbuing it with meaning. By rendering the work significant and worthy of attention, it ensured the sheep remained focused on their goals. A further goal in this service-learning context was therefore to encourage commitment to 'the work', ensuring appropriate and responsible community engagement was sustained.

To reinforce the value of the work, the students also appeared to participate in a rite of passage. This involved suffering, either in the form of hardship at the community site or in the form of shaming and disciplining in the critical-reflection sessions. The challenge and the repair or resolution, resulted in a form of absolution, marking entry into an 'elite' – the experienced service-learner. As mentioned earlier, dividing practices were used in the talk to differentiate the students in this course from those who had not endured this rite of passage.

Self-disclosure and modelling by the shepherd can also be understood as a strategy for ensuring renewed or sustained commitment, where the sheep assist the shepherd to remain true, even when the shepherd fails. This modelling of the desired behaviour and confessional practices can also be seen as encouraging self-governance. Modelling, disciplining and managing resistance all create a norm for the flock to follow. These techniques set the standard for the behaviour of the sheep, which they are expected to achieve through techniques of the self, disciplining themselves to achieve the aspirations of the shepherd and supporting each other as each sheep struggles towards the goal. Finally, the shepherd can only lead insofar as the sheep are willing to be led. The students' acquiescence was carefully managed over time, with a conscious agreement to be led by

me, and in this manner. As can be seen in the excerpts above, the relationship between the shepherd and the sheep plays a key role in this process. It is through these strategies and tactics that intimacy is established and trust is built. These in turn encourage confession and sharing, which is met with support and guidance. Challenge and learning are also important elements as they generate energy and interest, which are required to sustain this relationship over time.

The confessional nature of the critical reflection in this service-learning course highlights the interplay between disclosure and intimacy, where these two activities co-constitute each other. The intimate context promotes sharing, and disclosure promotes a deeper level of relating and intimacy. Other authors have commented on how self-disclosure facilitates the development of intimacy, which consequently engenders confidence and a sense of security and trust, resulting in further intimacy (Reis & Shaver, 1988). This kind of interaction serves to indicate care for, and validation of, an other. In this course, the kind of intimacy that was practiced was gendered. As highlighted above, the interactions that occurred were shaped by the gender of the participants. As an all-women group, certain subjectivities would likely have been constructed that would have been less apparent in a mixed-gender group. For example, the notion of care has long been associated with constructions of women (Noddings, 2013), and care is a central component of pastoral power. The interactions analysed above depict the care taken between participants to demonstrate concern and respect for the others in the group. I would therefore argue that the intimate nature of this group facilitated and encouraged disclosure through confession, and that indications of respect, trust, confidence further served to strengthen this intimacy.

The confessional practices of self-disclosure also then interacted with the manifestation of resistance or disagreement. Pastoral power, with its confessional techniques, encourages students to declare their resistance (as was demonstrated in the excerpts above); the declaration of resistance in this context is then defused through the practices of care and reassurance, and efforts are made to repair the relationship. By extracting the confession of resistance, the resistance is rendered relatively harmless. This may not be true in contexts where the shepherding relationship has not been strongly established, or when the

relationship suffers an insult, as in the disciplining of Mary described above, where the challenge was not well received and taken as a personal affront, which changed the tone of the interaction and threatened the relationship. The next chapter provides more detail on resistance in the context of pastoral power.

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the analysis of the interactional elements of the talk between participants in the service-learning process. I used extracts demonstrating commonly occurring interactions and then other interesting moments to try to illustrate the kinds of strategies and tactics that were used in the discourse to position the participants, or to achieve certain functions in the interaction. These strategies and tactics were then considered in the light of the service-learning context. The next chapter broadens this context to consider these results in the light of the arguments made in the earlier parts of the thesis.

CHAPTER 9

Discussion and conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the research questions and the potential answers evident in the data. This is related to the service-learning literature reviewed and the conceptual framework of pastoral power argued for earlier in the thesis. This chapter, and indeed this project, does not claim to provide *the answer*, as Foucault would argue that this is not possible; instead, I have tried to highlight the questions we should be asking of our practice and speculated on the possible effects of these alternative perspectives.

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the strategies and tactics of participating in the critical reflection process in service-learning?
2. How does the critical reflection process in service-learning lead to the construction of the 'good' citizen?

Question one placed the focus on how power practices were manifested in the interactions between the participants and what effects these practices had. As has already been indicated, question two needed to be 'troubled', as notions of what constitutes a 'good' citizen are varied and debatable. The question also assumes the development of a citizen, whereas what was apparent from the data was that different kinds of complicated subjects were constructed in the process, not necessarily a citizen subject. The discussion starts with a focus on these complicated subjects and then moves onto considering the strategies and tactics that were employed in their construction, in the context of Foucault's notions of power.

9.2 The kinds of subjects produced in this service-learning course

Kahne and colleagues (Kahne et al., 2000, p. 46) asked "what kinds of citizens do service-learning programmes aim to develop?" As highlighted in the literature review, this notion of

citizenship, and particularly the ideal of the 'good citizen', needs to be problematised. Multiple conceptualisations of citizenship exist in the service-learning literature, with most falling into two camps: softer approaches, which measures citizenship in terms of civic outcomes, and edgier approaches, which promote radicalised students. In an effort to deal with the prevailing dualism in the service-learning field, some authors (e.g. Mitchell & Rost-Banik, 2017) suggested being more inclusive and embracing diverse notions and versions of citizenship. This study took this problematisation further and, using a Foucauldian lens, asked what forms of subjectivity the discourses afforded and how participants took up or rejected these constructions of their selves. Thus, instead of a focus on the different kinds of citizen subjects, the study explored a variety of possible subject positions, some of which may or may not characterise what other proponents would argue constitute a good citizen, or a form of citizenship.

This study did not intend to, and was not able to, report on citizenship outcomes for students, as the many other studies in the literature review did. This was, however, not the focus of the research. There were no outcomes measures, no pre- and post-test scores. Instead, by embracing a post-structuralist paradigm, the research was able to provide a more complicated account of students' subjectivities, the nuances of which are not accessible in more positivistic approaches. This approach was more consistent with the work of Mitchell and Rost-Banik (2017), who emphasised that research on students' civic outcomes should recognise that people can hold multiple and contradictory positions.

The results revealed that, whilst the objectives for the course constructed subjects who were critically knowledgeable, skilled, ethical and developmental, the subjectivities produced through the course were not as straightforward as that. The results described the *enthusiastic* subject, who was keen to get into the real world and engage with social issues from an academic platform, and the *overwhelmed* subject, who realised that she was inadequately equipped to deal with these kinds of issues and the extent of the change needed. The *frustrated* subject constructed a disinterested, unmotivated other, and dysfunctional systems to account for her experiences. The *enlightened* subject emerged from experiences which allowed deeper understanding of, and insight into, the social issues

in the communities, and from academic perspectives which facilitated meta-reflection. The *guilty* subject was concerned with privilege and her lack of capacity to effect change. She assumed responsibility for the shortcomings of the service-learning experience. To relieve this sense of failure and responsibility, the *resigned* subject adopted a more philosophical approach, in an attempt to make sense of her experience and enable her to walk away.

These findings could be regarded as similar to those reported by Clayton and Ash (2004), who described a developmental process of excitement, uncertainty and confusion, frustration and uncertainty, ending with a sense of responsibility. However, as argued by Coryell et al. (2016), who found that their students moved back and forth across layers of transformation, the students in this study vacillated between and across the different subjectivities at different times. Strain (2006) likened this to the movements of a starfish, whilst Carrington (2011) wrote about reterritorialisation in student identities, which involved a nomadic, non-linear process. Carrington (2011) and LeGrange (2007) also highlighted the lack of fixed outcomes in students, and their shifting identities. The results of this study also identified that student subjectivities emerge and shift at different moments.

In addition, Clayton and Ash (2004) and Gemignani (2013) reported a developmental process in students, which resulted in a neat and tidy responsibilised student, who accepted her/his responsibility and agency. Gemignani (2013) observed that his students applied psychology in context, developed some kind of practitioner identity, and had a sense of the effectiveness of their service. Whilst the students in this study mirrored some of what Gemignani (2013) found - that is, the use of psychology in the real world and the development of a sense of identity within the field of psychology (psychologist, or novice community psychologist) - I would argue that they did not arrive at the same conclusions regarding the effectiveness of their service. The excerpts demonstrate a responsibilised subject, who was under pressure to perform both from an academic and community perspective, but this subjectivity shifted over time. The complicated subjectivities demonstrate how they constantly questioned their effectiveness, their role and their responsibilities. In addition, whilst the process constructed students who had a sense of

identity as a psychologist, this was concomitant with the binary of being little girls and inadequate to the task. The neatly packaged outcomes described by others were not present in this study.

The results reported a number of binaries in subjectivity: being professional psychologists and little girls, being critical academics and warm human beings, being separate from and joined with their communities, being both power‘full’ and power‘less’. In the results, I also highlighted that, although these subjectivities were often juxtaposed, navigating the course required the students to manage the contradictions simultaneously. Strain (2006) argued that students are capable of moving along and across paradigms in an integrative way. Likewise, Butin (2005) recommended that we should allow students to recognise the complexity of life, with its dilemmas and ambiguities. Bursaw (2012) also highlighted that students go through a phase of examining the dilemmas and ambiguities which real world experiences raise, but he reported a final stage of integration and resolution. Again, I would argue that this integration and the claim of resolution were not apparent in the students in the current study; the service-learning process in this study was much messier and more convoluted than that reported by others. The service-learning subject constructed in the service-learning in current research was complicated, contradictory and nuanced.

Strain (2006) argued for the notion of “interare” (p. 5) and the interconnectedness of multiple ways of being. Part of the way this was managed and constituted in the current study was through the deployment of two disparate discourses. The results demonstrated how the students were constructed through, and at the same time deployed, expert and pastoral discourses. Within each discourse, and sometimes between the discourses, the students were constructed in terms of the binaries described above. I have argued that these two discourses were at times complementary and at other times competing, and that switching discourses was sometimes a strategy to manage the interactions within the group and the contradictory subjectivities that the discourses constructed. The participants would switch between discourses to manage their stake, their position and their subjectivity. When the discourses jarred, the participants carefully managed the disagreements this would create, in order to preserve the relationships within the group. At other times, the

apparently contradictory discourses would function as allies to enable the complicated subject to hold together multiple conflicting ways of being at the same time.

As the discourses stemmed from different regimes of truth, the standards, parameters and normative actions within each was different. The participants would thus deploy the different discourses at different moments to manage their contradictory subjectivities, and to position them as legitimate within that particular regime of truth. The multiple subject positions reported in this study are significant because they open up possibilities for ways of being, despite the notions in the service-learning field of a singular kind of 'active citizen', or uniformity of outcomes. The service-learning student is not shaped into one kind of subjectivity. This more complex account also captures the movements towards and away from any identified 'ideal' subject (like the good citizen), and this complexity holds the possibilities for resistance. The subject positions reported here may be unique to this context and this study, but they are significant because they reveal more complicated ways of knowing, doing and being than has previously been documented. Other programmes may construct other kinds of subjects, which will likely have their own contradictions and binaries. They may also draw on different discourses. An expert discourse may have been relevant in the current study, due to the disciplinary context of psychology. Different discourses may be more prevalent in different disciplinary contexts; however, it is useful to be cognisant of the competing regimes of truth which construct the subjects in these contexts.

The literature review highlighted the need for research on **how** transformation occurs in the service learning context (Butin, 2005; Reason & Hemer, 2015). Although the descriptions of the kinds of subjects constructed and the deployment of discourses in this process provided some insight into the more complicated 'outcomes' of service-learning, it does not address the question of how these subjectivities were constructed in the service-learning process, beyond looking at how the discourses were deployed. The next section therefore reports on what the study revealed in terms of the discursive worlds the participants inhabited, and the strategies and tactics deployed in the process.

9.3 The strategies and tactics of participating in this service-learning course

This study revealed that there were a number of different strategies operating at different levels that acted together to try to effect transformation. The demands of the service-learning experience itself renders students more open to considering alternative perspectives. The way in which critical reflection, and confession, are positioned as desirable also moves students to performing a particular kind of confessional subjectivity. The elements of the critical reflection process each have their role to play in subjecting the students to scrutiny, to revealing the truth about themselves and then acting on that truth. The roles of the facilitator in constructing an appropriate relationship which fosters this process of confession and conversion are also significant. Lastly, the micro-practices in the interactions in critical reflection also play a role in the construction of the transformed subject.

9.3.1 The service-learning context and experience

Others have stipulated that the key to a transformational kind of learning experience is the student being confronted with an experience that creates a critical tension for them. Mezirow (2000) called this a disorienting dilemma, Kiely (2005) dissonance, Bursaw (2012) a catalytic encounter, and Coryell et al. (2016) a disruptive experience. The service-learning literature records the debate about whether a local experience is sufficiently radical to bring about this impetus for transformation. The South African context may differ from others in this regard. Given the great diversity in this context, and how it has been defined by racial segregation, the students were able to work in contexts that were unfamiliar and radically different from those they were accustomed to. The excerpts detail how the students struggled with this, and how the subjectivities were constructed through this kind of experience. I would thus reiterate my argument that service-learning intentionally places students in contexts which render them vulnerable (the disorientating dilemma, dissonance, and so forth) and therefore more malleable to forms of governance, including governance of the self.

The results also portray a kind of rite of passage in this service-learning course. The disruptive overwhelming experience, combined with the challenges of participating in

critically reflecting on that experience (sharing, being challenged, disciplined, or shamed) and subsequent repair, involved a process of suffering and pardon which then allowed the student to be admitted into the elite of experienced service-learners. Through the process, they were constructed as subjects who were 'special' and different from other students who did other (ordinary) courses. These dividing practices resulted in the service-learning students developing cohesion and solidarity within the group. A cohesive group lends itself much more easily to normalising practices and, ultimately, normalising techniques of the self.

9.3.2 The confessional critical reflection process

If we understand the critical reflection process as a confessional practice, then the lecturer/academic is placed in a position of authority which allows her to insist on the students' submission to reflection. This is strengthened when the confession is for marks. Devas (2004) highlighted that the authority of the academic allows her to decide the nature of the confession and what will count as truth. This extraction of truth is facilitated by the intimacy of the confessor and the listener, the sheep and the shepherd (Foucault, 1990). The intensity of the service-learning experience heightens the intimacy of the relationship, as the students are thrown into positions where they require the support of the shepherd, the guidance of the authority.

Through these confessional practices individuals are actively involved in self-governance; they are obligated to tell the truth about themselves and act upon that truth through techniques of the self. Confession was positioned as a desirable practice in this course through modelling by me as facilitator, where I engaged in self-disclosure and confession of mistakes. It was also encouraged in the students by the use of reinforcing and encouraging talk when they disclosed their experiences.

A further technique for positioning confession as desirable were the co-constituting practices of disclosure and intimacy. In the excerpts, it is apparent that intimate details of participants' lives were shared during the critical reflection process (and indeed, even more sharing happened off the record). These disclosure practices constructed a context of

intimacy, which in turn encouraged more disclosures. Others (Reis & Shaver, 1988) have reported on the interplay between disclosure and intimacy. Locating these practices within the context of pastoral power adds a further dimension to this co-constitution. The operation of pastoral power, with its benevolent and caring techniques, encourages a relationship of mutual submission between shepherd and sheep. Such submission generates disclosures which are met with caring responses, and thus intimacy is performed in the relationship. This strengthens the effects of pastoral power, binding the participants to one another, creating more intimacy and the opportunity for more disclosures. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the intimacy in this course was (en)gendered by the fact that we were all female participants; this likely strengthened and intensified this dynamic. Whilst other courses may not manifest this particular (gendered) dynamic, it is useful to be aware of how we perform intimacy to facilitate confession, and vice versa.

9.3.3 The elements of this group critical reflection process

The literature review highlighted how the use of the *circle* to 'encourage *participation*' has been problematised. The circle was posited as an object of scrutiny (with nowhere for the unwilling/resistant student to hide) and therefore normalisation. Participation was disrupted to reveal that any notion of voluntariness is always problematic as we are always operating within power, and that in an educational endeavour this is even more entrenched in structures and processes that have long been taken for granted (Ellsworth, 1989).

Likewise, we use *discussion practices* that are assumed to be egalitarian, but which in fact may perpetuate subject positions and dynamics that prevent students from participating in the manner in which they choose and prefer. Brookfield (2001) highlighted the highly normative nature of discussion practices, and the role of the facilitator as the enforcer of the norm. The fact that students work hard to exemplify this norm is evident in the data in the subject positions of the enthusiastic subject and the enlightened subject, for example, and in the strategies of humour, enthusiasm, discipline and mock resistance described in the previous chapter.

Reflection activities demand that the private is made public, which then requires the student to employ techniques of the self to work on herself to achieve the most preferred version of herself. Encouraging reflection as an everyday practice is about shaping reflective subjects who continuously work on improving themselves (Fejes, 2011). Through internalising the other (the listener to whom she confesses), the student subjects herself to scrutiny and self-governance, always aiming to achieve the desired norm.

When understood through this lens, Macfarlane and Gourlay's (2009) analogy of the reflection game is difficult to confront within one's own practices. They described stages of penitence, conversion and conformity. Besley (2005) also described a process of acknowledging faults to attain forgiveness through the reflection process. Whilst similar conclusions could be drawn from some of the interactions in this study, this data also offered some variations to this formula. As described above, the students were constructed as complicated subjects with multiple possible ways of being, which were not always about conformity. In fact, the contradictory subjectivities demonstrate how students were constructed through this discourse as simultaneous binaries. This draws the notion of conformity into question, as the students could not conform to any one way of being, whilst also being its opposite.

Macfarlane and Gourlay's (2009) game analogy fails to recognise that "students understand they are being played with" (Foucault, 1971, p. 195). Elle's dancing monkey analogy described in the previous chapter attests to this. Her comment revealed her awareness of her performance as a certain kind of subject in the service-learning context. I would argue that students are able to practice their freedom through experimenting with alternative ways of being, as evident in the various subjects and contradictory subjectivities. Freedom may also have been exercised by realising the rules of the game, and complying in order to achieve credit or praise. Thus, the students participate in the construction of the subjectivities, and they choose which to be at any one time.

Siebert and Walsh (2013) queried the authenticity of the reflection process and asked whether students would be bold enough to disclose alternative beliefs and practices.

McCuaig and colleagues (2011) have highlighted how difficult this would be in the context of the caring pastoral relationship, by asking which student would be able to refuse care. The data does not present a clear answer to this, as, whilst strategies of cohesion and normalisation were evident in the talk, the disparate subject positions indicate these did not work towards one preferred image.

To clarify, the course guide prescribed a preferred subject who was critically knowledgeable, skilled, ethical and open to development. As described above, these kinds of subjects were not necessarily constructed in this process. Whilst they may have been a by-product of the process, in the main, the subjects were less contained and messier than this, with internal contradictions and opposing positions. Do these kinds of complicated subject positions capture the push and pull of pastoral power and resistance? Do they demonstrate students who agree to play a game, whilst being aware that they are being played with? As discussed above, the different discourses were each other's 'deviant' cases, and students deployed these at different times to manage their different subject positions. The co-constitutive nature of power effects and resistance makes it difficult to tease apart the nature of this interaction and serves to remind us how we are always operating within the context of power; we are always within a regime of truth. Having said this, there are other aspects of the service-learning process which are more available for scrutiny.

9.3.4 The role(s) of the facilitator

Battistoni (2013) highlighted the need to focus on the role of the educator in the development of certain kinds of students in the context of service-learning. Kiely (2005) argued for a closer examination of the positionality and identity of the facilitator in the service-learning process. This study attempted to explore these issues from a Foucauldian perspective. The conceptual framework drew on the work of Brookfield (2001), who emphasised that students seek a teacher who is both an authority and an ally. This was evident in this study in the students' approaches to me, both as a supervisor and a shepherd.

Brookfield (2005) further emphasised the need for congruence to ensure the encounter was authentic. To achieve this, he recommended full disclosure from the teacher, making one's assumptions and agendas known; he argued that the teacher also needed to demonstrate responsiveness and personhood. These were evident in the sessions to some extent. The results provide details of my disclosure to the students, including the confession of my own failures. The excerpts also demonstrate the kind of responsiveness Brookfield (2005) recommended, through indications that I wanted to know about their learning. Lastly, by allowing aspects of my own life and experience to be revealed in the classroom, I demonstrated personhood. Foucault, however, would not take these at face value, and thus from his perspective, they need to be understood as moves in this strategic game of education. I have already described how intimacy and disclosure co-constitute each other. Thus, what may appear to be authenticity, may actually be practices of intimacy and disclosure, exercises in pastoral power, to create the confessional space in critical reflection, enabling governance through promoting techniques of the self.

Baptiste's (2008) more cynical take on authenticity, and his notions of ethical coercion and educational imposition, are relevant here. The conceptual framework chapter detailed his typology of educational imposition. His matrix of positions with respect to palatability and beneficence, reported four possibilities: nurturance, placation, challenge and plunder. The previous chapter detailed numerous incidents of challenge and nurturance. However, there were also instances of plunder – challenge gone wrong - and possibly also placation which, from Baptiste's (2008) perspective, are not appropriate forms of educational imposition. He described educational niceness as a "salacious seduction" (p. 26). The analysis of the interactions in the sessions revealed that some of this kind of seduction may have been occurring through the caring pastoral relationship. Baptiste himself acknowledged the false binaries his matrix imposed, and I would argue that continuums along these dimensions, rather than the binary categories, may be more useful, as the divide between harmful or ethical coercion may not always be that clear cut; indeed, the dividing point may shift depending on context and participants.

Thus, the authenticity per se of the facilitator may not be as relevant from a Foucauldian perspective, which steers away from intentions (in this case, the intention to be real) and focusses rather on practices. What was more apparent than practices of authenticity in this study, were practices of intimacy, which included me performing my 'true' self through self-disclosure and sharing of personal experiences, thereby modelling this way of being to the students.

Others have reported on the role of the facilitator in the educational process. McCuaig (2007) described how the HPE teacher was positioned in the roles of spiritual guide and caring parent. Similar positions could be observed in this study, with an additional position of expert or supervisor, guiding the novices. This was possibly apparent by virtue of the fact that this was a course in psychology, which places students on a trajectory towards professional development. Although the expert may not be as obvious in other disciplinary contexts, I would argue that there is always the operation of the expert other, who may present as the more experienced other, but who functions as a guide to students who are new to the field. This construction of a benevolent guide (Brown, 2004) was problematised in the literature review, and this notion of the benevolence of pastoral power has been foregrounded throughout the study. The power of a caring approach lies partly in its capacity to encourage confession.

McCuaig and Tinning (2010) identified the conditions for constructing a trusting relationship that facilitates confession. They emphasised that the listener/teacher needs to have established her credibility (via expertise), that there needs to be a sustained and intimate relationship between the participants (discussed above), and that the teacher is a model of good practice. These were also noted in this study, and apparent in the self-disclosure of the shepherd and the modelling of confessional practices. The importance of this intimacy has already been discussed: it constructs the context within which self-governance is promoted through the extraction of the 'truth' of the subject, and the commitment to restitution this truth requires.

In considering my role as facilitator in this process, I found myself in a similar position to Ellsworth (1989) and Gore (1990), whereby I was caught up in the position of being part of the apparatus that I wished to problematise and expose. This is by virtue of the notion that we are always operating within the context of power. The only way through this appears to be to accept the paradox of “government through freedom” (Rose, 1999) and to hope that an awareness of our role in this government brings the hope of being able to choose by whom we wish to be led, and extending that freedom to our students.

9.3.5 Micro-level interaction between participants

It was hoped that by focusing on the interactions between participants in the critical reflection process in service-learning, an analysis of the exercise of power at its extremities (Foucault, 1980d) would be possible. This focus revealed that various strategies were employed to promote learning, to prioritise and preserve the relationships within service-learning, to foster solidarity, and to promote cohesion.

Others who have conducted this microanalysis of interactions in educational settings, to establish how learning happens, have reported an I-R-E (initiation-reply-evaluation) sequence (Brown, 2004) or an I-R-F (initiation-response-feedback) sequence (Mercer, 2001). These authors also noted how repetitions, paraphrases, formulations, recapitulations and explanations were used to fit students’ responses to match the desired learning outcomes. The analysis of the interactions in the critical reflection context in this service-learning course revealed a sequence of challenge-surprise-repair-challenge, with the facilitator moving between positions of expert and shepherd to mediate this process. Students would be requested to share their experiences and perspectives, which were then challenged from an expert perspective. Their surprise and possible offence at the challenge was managed through attempts to repair and normalise, and then further challenge was once again launched to ensure the right lesson had been learned by the individual and the group. Normalising practices were essential to ensure that individuals survived the shaming this produced, with reminders that “we” were all in this together, that “we” all make these kinds of mistakes. Where this did not occur, and the tone of the exchange became personal, the participants had to work even harder to preserve the pastoral relationship. At times, the

challenge sequence would be directed towards me, from the students, or between the students themselves. It was thus a multi-directional dynamic.

McCuaig et al. (2011) (in the HPE context) also observed the powerful normalising practices of pastoral power, that were achieved in their classes through techniques of togetherness and caring, encouragement and inspiration and, in their case, constructing exercise as a pleasurable experience. Similarly in this study, the promotion of cohesion, solidarity, and the frequent use of “we” to develop the sense of a collective us were noted. Solidarity was also promoted through the use of humour and laughter. Concomitantly, dividing practices were used to differentiate “us” from others (“them”), who had not been through the experience. This differentiation served to position the students as special, and as having endured a rite of passage. McCuaig et al. (2011) also noted the use of encouragement through positive reinforcement. This did not appear to be such a focus of the interactions in this study (although students were praised for work and efforts: “That’s great”, for example). Rather, encouragement took place through imbuing the students’ work with a sense of meaning and purpose, and through my modelled enthusiasm that their experiences were significant. McCuaig and her colleagues focused on learners in the school classroom, whereas this study was with adult learners. This may account partly for this difference.

In addition, McCuaig et al. (2011) noted the construction of a ‘bad’ person who disappointed the teacher, which was a position to be avoided in the HPE class. Whilst this ‘bad’ student was evident in the excerpts above, and there was talk of being “evil” and “wicked”, the cost of failure was extended not only to disappointing the teacher, but to their community partners and themselves. Students were constantly reminded that others were depending on their compliance and performance. This would have increased the impetus for self-reflection and governance. This construction of responsibility was thus achieved through what others (Bye, 2010; Miller & Rose, 1990) have called the process of ‘translation’, that is, the notion that our fates are bound up with each other. In this study, this translation was achieved in the confessional space of reflection through practices of cohesion, solidarity, normalisation and care. The fates that are bound up together are given more weight in the service-learning context, as they go beyond just the fate of the student

and the lecturer to extend to the communities with which the students are working, thus increasing the responsibility of the student.

The micro-level analysis of the interactions in the critical reflections thus revealed how caring relationships were prioritised. Thus, even the main tactic for ensuring learning (the challenge sequence) involved the step of repair and reassurance. The rite of passage that involved shaming included absolution, such that the participant was not rendered ‘bad’ through the process. This rite of passage was part of the practices of intimacy, which also included disclosure and modelling, the promotion of solidarity and cohesion through humour and laughter, and acts of caring for one another. The confessional space that was constructed was therefore a ‘safe’, intimate space where “we” were all in it together. We shared the responsibilities for assisting or failing to assist the communities with which the students were working. We participated in the normalising practices that made self-reflection and self-governance possible. This confessional space, and the context of the caring relationship, made it possible to confess resistance, and for this resistance to be processed and possibly defused. These kinds of conclusions raise questions about the freedom of the students, and their relative power to resist being governed in this way.

9.4 The freedom of the student

In the conceptual framework, I critiqued the work of Brookfield (2001; 2005) for not explaining how students demonstrate their resistance, and for not showing hope in action. In my analysis, I also struggled to find examples of real resistance, reporting ‘mock’ resistance. I postulated that perhaps pastoral power is so ubiquitous that it ensures that resistance is confessed and subsequently defused through care and other governing techniques like fostering cohesion, humour, moves to solidarity and so on. The other possibility is that this hope may reside in the multiple and contradictory subject positions described above. These suggest that students participate in constructing who they want to be, and how they deploy juxtaposed discourses to construct these different subjectivities. This deployment of these competing discourses makes for tricky terrain, which makes it difficult to declare a final service-learning subject with any certainty. The discourses act as deviant cases for each other; they are contradictory and complementary within and

between, and the act of switching discourses changes the topography of the terrain, by changing the parameters of what counts as truth.

Foucault explained that we practice our freedom by experimenting with possible transformations of ourselves, through exploring alternative ways of being (May, 2011). Central to this freedom is an awareness of how we have been made to be and the subsequent deployment of tactics to free ourselves from the constraints placed upon us by regimes of truth. Again, it seems the multiple subjectivities of the service-learning students in this study provide some evidence of the students not being constructed in any singular way, but rather holding together contradictory subjectivities at the same time, and exploring alternative ways of being in the service-learning process.

9.5 Critical reflections on service-learning

The complex processes of subjectification and co-construction; of the effects of pastoral power and resistance to these effects; of the deployment of contradictory discourses to achieve various purposes; and the employment of strategies and tactics by both students and lecturers, do not create a clear picture of what may be going on in a service-learning course. Hopefully, this study has demonstrated the usefulness of a Foucauldian lens in opening up taken-for-granted practices, and enabling questioning how things may be otherwise. This kind of lens serves to expose the various and contrasting aspects of the apparatus of service-learning, whilst at the same time offering a way of holding them in tension, without needing to declare any one perspective as the truth.

This kind of exposition calls into question the assumptions that service-learning is a “learner-centred approach” (Ash & Clayton, 2004, p. 151) and reiterates Butin’s (2006) concern that it cannot claim to be a “neutral practice” (p. 486), but is rather a disruptive force. If we accept the evidence provided above of how students are shaped into certain kinds of subjects through the service-learning process, how is this different from other educational endeavours? This calls into question how counter-normative service-learning is, and brings to mind Foucault’s distinction between the lecture and the seminar, where he declared the seminar less honest than a lecture, where the professor stands and delivers the

perspective s/he wishes the students to adopt. In the seminar s/he feeds them with ideas much more insidiously (Foucault, 1971). As service-learning practitioners, we would shudder to consider our teaching less honest. Some recommendations for practice and research are in order.

9.5.1 Implications for practice

As reiterated many times in this thesis, we are always within power; we can never be outside of power. This position seems pessimistic until one considers power as a productive force. Foucault's understanding of power, as distinct from oppression, domination or repression, is useful. Power is productive and is evident in the interactions between people; it cannot be possessed but is exercised. This kind of power can also only be exercised in the context of freedom, where subjects are able to choose to be otherwise. Understanding power in this way then liberates us to identify how power flows in the service-learning context, and what we can do to mediate that flow.

Being aware that we are not engaging in a neutral practice, and that we are always promoting some kind of agenda (even when we may not be aware of that agenda), requires us to engage in our own self-governance. It demands that we reflect on our practices, that we confess the 'truth' to ourselves, and that we shape our future selves and practices around that truth. We should confess the truth of the ideological or political perspective we aim to promote, where a non-political perspective is still bound up in power. We should confess the truth of the methods we employ to ensure students learn what they are meant to, and not be naïve and make claims of neutrality or beneficence.

Conceptualising service-learning as an apparatus and understanding the elements of that apparatus, the nested systems and their genealogies, allows for reflection on our roles in this process and on our responsibility for ensuring different voices are heard. The awareness that we are part of this apparatus should also go some way to encouraging us to reflect on our practices in this context. This study focussed on the interactions between lecturer and students; community perspectives were not considered. The research was thus complicit in prioritising student and academic perspectives. Community perspectives should also be the

focus of future research. The interactions between the regimes of truth present in different community contexts and the more academic discourses that students tend to be familiar with would certainly be of interest in future studies.

Considering the service-learning field as a regime of truth also exposes how certain activities come to be normalised and promoted as ‘good’, and how people and processes come to be reified as beyond question. Foregrounding this through a post-structural lens should hopefully remind us of our radical roots, and prevent us from becoming complacent about our everyday ways of being.

I imagine that those who are drawn to service-learning because of its possibilities for resisting and challenging the status quo in the academy would be dismayed at my analysis. I would argue, however, that this study provides opportunity for hope, that students are not passive recipients in the service-learning process. Indeed, I would argue that they are aware of the ‘game’, and that they use their own strategies and tactics to choose the kinds of subjects they wish to become. Service-learning programme designs that do not allow for the exercise of this kind of freedom, but instead prescribe “McService” (Eby, 1998, p. 2) processes and cookie-cutter outcomes, should be viewed with suspicion and problematised.

9.5.2 The limitations of the current study

I have already highlighted the lack of the communities’ perspectives as one limitation of this study. The diagram in Figure 4.1 highlighted the elements of the service-learning apparatus. This study has considered certain aspects of this apparatus and neglected those which stem from communities.

A further limitation, also discussed above, was the small number of students enrolled in this service-learning course, and the fact that they were all female. I have written about the gendered intimacy that this evoked, which may have been unique to this course. Whilst this may be a limitation, the small number of participants likely also intensified the interpersonal processes, and the intimacy these produced, rendering them visible for analysis. Other service-learning classes will have their own unique characteristics, which in turn construct

their own complicated subjects. In addition to the small number of participants, the study also focused on data from a limited number of sessions. Additional, or longer sessions may have exposed other permutations in subjectivities, strategies and tactics. Further, in relation to the student sample, is important to acknowledge that this service-learning course was only one aspect of their lives and their developmental processes during their honours year. The students' claims regarding the impacts of the service-learning on them need to be understood within this context.

The fact that the study was conducted in South Africa may limit its transferability to other contexts, which possibly are not able to provide a 'radical' experience so close to home. The great diversity in this country forces service-learning students to confront social injustice and structural inequality that are not present in other more equitable systems. Having said this, it was interesting to note the similarities with some of the more radical international service-learning programmes, and the experiences of the students in those settings. More sanitised versions of service-learning may not evoke the same kinds of dilemmas for students, and possibly result in different kinds of subjects being produced.

A further limiting factor may be by virtue of this service-learning being within the context of the discipline of psychology. There is a professionalisation dimension to this discipline that may not be evident in other academic disciplines. However, as I have argued previously, each discipline has its regimes of truth, and its processes of moving students along the trajectory from apprentice to expert.

At a more conceptual level, the subjectivity of the researcher (my subjectivity) may be considered a drawback. I have tried to counter this by reporting on my roles, positions and perspectives. I have also argued that this kind of research does not claim to do a "god trick" (Haraway, 1991) and see everything from some neutral meta-perspective. My subjectivity has been acknowledged, together with the fact that in authoring this thesis, I am presenting a particular kind of truth of the process, which is also subjective, located within a particular regime of truth and open to debate.

Likewise, my application of Foucauldian discourse analysis may be viewed by others as less pure than other iterations of the technique. I have tried to account for this by providing a detailed account of the analysis and the decisions taken in the analysis process. This hopefully explains the horse that I chose for this course (Graham, 2011) and that it was used to good effect.

Lastly, one of the challenges of the study was to provide enough breadth regarding an overview of Foucault and his ideas, the service-learning field, and a post-structuralist approach for the study to be meaningful beyond the immediate context. At the same time, I tried to provide enough depth of evidence for the claims I was making, ensuring that the research was empirically sound and trustworthy. I may sometimes not have achieved the desired balance between breadth and depth and may have made errors in the difficult decisions about what to exclude. The delicate balancing act has resulted in a lot of text for the reader to process.

9.5.3 Implications for future research

The limitations of the study indicate where future research would be useful. It would be very interesting to establish the kinds of subjects constructed, and the strategies and tactics employed, in other service-learning courses. This could be in other disciplines, with other kinds of student demographics, and with different service-learning experiences. This would enable comparison of the current results with other contexts, in order to establish how common these complicated subjects are, and/or what accounts for the differences found.

As indicated above, there is a great need to focus on communities' perspectives in and of service-learning. This kind of work needs to be conducted at a number of levels, as a community voice is largely absent in service-learning research. A study employing the kind of paradigm promoted in this research could focus on the nature of the interactions that occur when community and academic perspectives meet, how the relationships are managed, and the kinds of subjects constructed when these discourses interact.

The implications for practice focused on practitioners developing awareness of their unexplored assumptions, and reflecting on their everyday practices. Research in this area would be illuminating. It would be fascinating to investigate academics/faculty awareness of their role in the service-learning apparatus, and their role in producing particular kinds of subjects through the work.

9.6 Conclusion

My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. (Foucault, 1983, pp. 231-232)

As stated in the introductory chapter, this study aimed to explore how service-learning could be dangerous, and with what effect. I hope that I have demonstrated how our benevolent, caring practices can result in forms of governance that we had not previously considered. That through our democratic teaching endeavours, we promote normalising techniques which result in students employing technologies of the self, and that, at the same time, students are able to employ practices of freedom that prevent them from being constructed in any singular way. I hope that this is cause for reflection which in turn starts a cycle of self-governance within service-learning practitioners. If we are never outside of power, then let us be aware of our practices and how they work to promote certain regimes of truth.

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APPENDIX 1

Community Psychology Outline

Honours elective in Community Psychology - with service-learning

Carol Mitchell

2011

Course description

This course is comprised of both theoretical and practical components, which will be offered over the semester. Students will be given prescribed readings to prepare for each contact session, with the intention of providing theoretical grounding for the activities that will take place in the communities. The other part of the contact session will be assigned to critical reflection to promote links between the theory and practical experience.

Service-learning component

Students will be required to work (most likely in pairs) in township/rural schools. The service-learning will involve spending two hours each week, over a period of ten weeks, at the school. The focus of the students' activities at the school will be agreed in negotiation with the school.

Anticipated outcomes:

Through participating in this module students are expected to achieve:

- An understanding of community psychology in the context of the broader discipline of psychology.
- An appreciation of the core values that underpin community psychology.
- An understanding of the potential role of the psychologist in communities.
- An understanding of the different methods of intervention in community psychology.
- A more critical understanding of the concept of empowerment.
- A deeper understanding of working in diverse communities.
- Skills in the development of a community-based intervention.
- A critical understanding of ethical issues in community psychology.

Assessment:

To be negotiated and agreed on in class.

Minimum criteria:

50% class work (some ideas: presentation on experiences at the end of the semester; preparation of a draft of a journal article reporting on experiences; critical incident journal, etc.)

50% exam equivalent (reflective report)

Topics:

1. Introduction – explanation of course; clarification of service-learning.

2. What is community psychology?

Fryer, D., & Laing, A. (2008). Community psychologies: What are they? What could they be? Why does it matter? A critical community psychology approach. *Australian Community Psychologist*, 20, 7-15.

Nel, W., Lazarus, S., & Daniels, B. (2010). Education support services policy and practice in South Africa: An example of community psychology in action? *Education as Change*, 14, S17-S31.

Pretorius-Heuchert, J. W., & Ahmed, R. (2001). Community psychology: Past, present , and future. In M. Seedat, N. Duncan, & S. Lazarus (Eds.), *Community psychology: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 17-36). London: Oxford University Press.

Seedat, M., & Lazarus, S. (2011). Community psychology in South Africa: Origins, developments, and manifestations. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 39, 241-257. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20429

3. Negotiating your role

Balcazar F. E., Garate-Serafini, T. J., Keys, C. B. (2004). The need for action when conducting intervention research: The multiple roles of community psychologists. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33(3-4), 243-252.

Dunbar-Krige, H., Pillay, J., & Henning, E. (2010). (Re-)positioning educational psychology in high-risk school communities. *Education as Change*, 14(S1), S3-S16.

4. Power and 'empowerment'

Fisher, A. T., Sonn, C. C., & Evans, S. D. (2007). The place and function of power in community psychology: Philosophical and practical issues. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 17, 258-267.

Taylor, J. (August 2009). Power in practice: The ability to listen, the courage to hear. *Community Development Resource Association Nugget*. Retrieved from <http://www.cdra.org.za>

Of interest:

Albee, G. W. (1998). Fifty years of clinical psychology: Selling our soul to the devil. *Applied and Preventive Psychology*, 7, 189-194.

Fourie, E., Segalo, P., & Terre Blanche, M. (2010). Towards an appropriate pedagogy for community psychology: The University of South Africa experience. *Acta Academica: Teaching of psychology in South Africa, Supp 2*, 22-46.

Kirk, C. M. (2009). Giving psychology away for the common good: Reflections of a novice community psychologist. *Australian Community Psychologist*, 21(1), 75-83.

Patel, V. (2003). *Where there is no psychiatrist*. London: Gaskell/Royal College of Psychiatrists. (Chapter 10: Mental health promotion and advocacy)

Smail, D. (2010). The rocky path from clinical to community psychology - a personal view. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 20, 455-461.

APPENDIX 2

Transcription conventions

[].	Square brackets indicate overlapping speech
(word).	Round brackets indicate a possible transcription
()	Empty round brackets show complete inability to distinguish the word.
((description))	Double round brackets indicate a description, rather than a transcription.
(.3)	Indicates the timed amount of seconds elapsed between speech.
(.)	Indicates a short pause, or an untimed pause.
=	Indicates there was no time lapse between speakers.
_____	Indicates that the word or syllable was stressed.
CAPS	Words in capital letters indicate an increase in volume.
....	Shows that a syllable was elongated. The number of colons indicate how long the sound was held for.
.hhhh	Indicates an audible in-breath.
hhhh	Indicates an audible out-breath or sigh.
↑	Indicates a rising intonation, where a question was not asked.
↓	Indicates a lowered intonation.
< >	Indicates speech slowed down.
> <	Indicates speech was speeded up.
°word°	Shows that the word was spoken more quietly than surrounding speech.
(h)	Indicates laughter within speech.
....	Indicates a portion of the transcription has been removed.
Ha ha	Indicates loud laughter
He he	Indicates softer laughter

APPENDIX 3

Ethical clearance certificate



Research Office (Govan Mbeki Centre)
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Ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

29 June 2011

Ms C Mitchell (215359)
School of Psychology
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Mitchell

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0450/011
PROJECT TITLE: Critical reflection in service-learning

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

1.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPENDIX 4

Information sheet and informed consent

Request for your participation in a study: Critical reflection in service-learning

Dear student,

My name is Carol Mitchell, as you know I am a lecturer in the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am doing a study in which I am investigating the critical reflection process in service-learning. I am interested in what happens in the classroom interaction during critical reflection in the context of a service-learning course. I would like to request your participation in this study.

Your participation in this study will involve agreeing to our lectures/reflection sessions being audio and videotaped. Over the course of the semester there will be between eight and ten 90 minute sessions. These will take place in the psychology research laboratory where visual and auditory equipment will be set up to record our interactions.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you are not being forced to participate in this study. *There are many other elective topics available for you to choose from for the purposes of your honours programme.* The choice of whether you would like to participate is yours. You can withdraw consent at any time, and there will be no repercussions. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, at a later stage during the term, alternative arrangements will be made for you to complete the course (i.e. written submissions instead of participating in group discussions).

If you choose to participate in this study I cannot unfortunately offer any direct benefits to you for participating. At the same time you are unlikely to experience any negative consequences of participation. There is no deception in this study.

Although your classmates and I will know who has participated in the study, pseudonyms will be used when I report what I have found. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained by ensuring that signed informed consent forms are stored by myself and are not accessible to anyone else. The audio and video tapes will also be kept in a secure location. The data will only be viewed and analysed by researchers working on the project. The results of this study will be written into a

dissertation report which may form part of my PhD degree, and may be presented at conferences. Information from this study could be used for further research or published in journal articles in the future.

If you have any questions about this study or if you would like to be made aware of the findings of this study, feel free to contact me by email at mitchellc@ukzn.ac.za (Tel: 033 260 6054). If you have any concerns about the nature of the study at any point, you may also contact UKZN's Human Social Sciences Ethics Committee (Tel: 031 260 8200). Thank you for considering this request.

Please sign and return the following if you choose to take part in this study:

CONSENT:

I..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in this research project on the critical reflection process in service-learning. I understand that I am not forced to participate in this study, and that I can withdraw at any point should I no longer wish to take part.

Additional consent to audio and video recording:

In addition to the above, I agree to the audio and video recording of the reflection sessions. I understand that no personally identifiable information or recording of me will be released in any form, and that my identity will be kept confidential in transcripts, reports and any future publications and will not be traced back to me.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX 5

Turnitin report

Thesis			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
% 5	% 4	% 2	% 1
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	blogs.mtroyal.ca Internet Source	<% 1	
2	researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz Internet Source	<% 1	
3	www.learningtogive.org Internet Source	<% 1	
4	James Conway. "Teaching and Learning in the Social Context: A Meta-Analysis of Service Learning's Effects on Academic, Personal, Social, and Citizenship Outcomes", Teaching of Psychology, 10/2009 Publication	<% 1	
5	Submitted to Ohio University Student Paper	<% 1	
6	researchspace.auckland.ac.nz Internet Source	<% 1	
7	creasfile.uahurtado.cl Internet Source	<% 1	
8	ir.canterbury.ac.nz Internet Source	<% 1	